TV Pap from a Different Spoon? *Robert L. Bishop*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — March 28, 1970, 50 cents

Correcting Our Posture

Laird, Defense and SALT

Ralph E. Lapp

Whittaker Chambers —*J. K. Galbraith*

Mayor Lindsay —*Richard C. Lee*

White Violence in Lamar —*Jack Bass*

Winter Wind —*Stanley Kauffmann*

AREA OHIO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why your "safe" drinking water can still be contaminated . . . and what you can do about it

How your family can enjoy cleaner, safer, better tasting water–right from your tap –with the new SIERRA WATER PURIFIER!

Are you aware that your water can be legally "safe"—according to Federal Water Pollution Control Administration standards—and still be *contaminated*?

The water you drink may legally contain:

- microscopic plants and animals (such as the anuraea and blood worm) which cause unpleasant tastes and odors, but which aren't considered unsafe.
- particles of organic or inorganic wastes, sediment and matter, which cause cloudiness and eventually clog pipes and appliances.
- trace amounts of iron and manganese, which cause stains, and which can also affect taste, odor and appearance.
- Chlorine, the purifying agent which makes tap water smell like swimming pool water.

Experts say these contaminants are harmless to human beings, even if they do affect the quality of your water.

If your water would taste a lot better (and be *safer* than "safe") without these contaminants, why aren't they filtered out? The reason: filtration is expensive, and 90% of all water is used for industrial and municipal purposes. For these users, water doesn't have to taste good. It only has to be cheap.

So it's a compromise. For you, the water is as safe as it *has* to be. For the big volume users, it's as cheap as it *can* be.

This means if you want really good, clear, spring-fresh water, you have to provide it yourself.

You can have unlimited spring-fresh water...

. . . thanks to the *Sierra Water Purifier*. This new device filters out *all* the contaminants listed above, gives you *unlimited* amounts of clear, delicious water—right from your tap—for pennies a day. The alternatives: bottled water, which is inconvenient, more expensive and gives you a limited supply of water that is no better than what you get from the *Sierra Water Purifier*. Or, you can install a reverse-osmosis system, which is more sophisticated and far more expensive than the *Sierra Purifier*.

For most households, the *Sierra Water Purifier* is the best solution. Installed at the point of use, under your kitchen sink, it will give you taste-free, odor-free, spring-fresh water for drinking or cooking. And it will last for decades. In fact, the *Sierra Water Purifier* is unconditionally guaranteed for 20 years!

Key to the *Sierra Purifier* is its replaceable activated charcoal filter cartridge. Every three months, you simply take out the old cartridge and drop in a new one (so quick and easy that a 10-year-old child can do it, without tools, in a minute or two).

60-day trial period... free filter cartridge

Best news of all is the cost. The *Sierra Water Purifier* is just $39.95 (plus shipping). With each unit, you'll receive one filter cartridge absolutely *free* (retail price is $6.95).

If you're not entirely satisfied, you may return it within 60 days and receive a full refund—no questions asked. And if you have already installed the unit, we'll send you an additional $10 to help cover your installation and removal costs.

Replacement cartridges mailed to you automatically

You'll never have to remind yourself to send away for a new filter cartridge. Every three months—until you tell us to stop—you'll automatically receive a new cartridge by mail, with a bill for $6.95 (plus shipping).

To order, clip and mail this coupon

To order your *Sierra Water Purifier*, just fill in, clip and mail the coupon below. Send payment with your order, or charge it to any of your credit card accounts listed on the coupon.

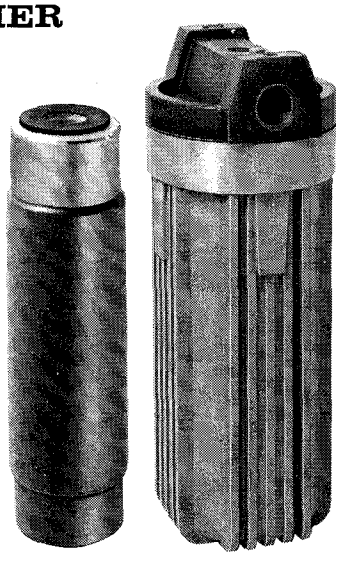
20-year guarantee

If, within 20 years of the purchase date, the connection head and/or filter housing cease to function properly due to defects in workmanship or deterioration of the materials or corrosion, we'll replace them *free*—and reimburse you for removal and installation costs.

SIERRA WATER PURIFIER
AND #C-9 FILTER CARTRIDGE

The *Sierra Water Purifier* (far right) consists of two sections, constructed for optimum durability and corrosion resistance: (1) a high density plastic connection head with pressure-relief valve, and (2) a reinforced Superflexon® plastic filter housing. The unit is 12-5/16" high and 5-3/16" in diameter, and is designed for point-of-use installation (either on the pipe under a kitchen sink leading to the cold water faucet, or on the cold water line in the basement beneath the sink). The #C-9 replacement filter cartridge (near right), with "directed flow" and hydraulic piston-action features, contains both a pre-filter and an activated charcoal filter.

Caution: This unit should not be used to filter hot water, and should not be used to purify an entire household water supply (two or three units *can* accomplish that).



ECOLOGICAL ENGINEERING COMPANY
Dept. SWP, P.O. Box 5902
Clinton, Iowa 52732

Please send me the *Sierra Water Purifier*—and the *free* filter cartridge—on a 60-day trial basis. I understand that if I am not satisfied, I may return the unit and receive a full refund (plus $10, if I have already installed the unit).

Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State and Zip_____

☐ $39.95 (plus $2 shipping) enclosed
Please charge my credit card #_____
☐ American Express
☐ BankAmericard ☐ Mastercharge
California residents add 5% sales tax

1–505–3– 1 8 7 0 5

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Your $10 gift to these hungry kids can bring them $240 worth of meat, milk and bread.

These kids go through life never knowing what it is like *not* to be hungry. They subsist day after day on a few greens around noon and some pinto beans in the evening. Nothing more. Nothing different. And not even enough of that.

It sounds incredible because it's taking place right now...in the midst of the good life so many of us are living in America. But walk down the back roads of most any Mississippi Delta town and you'll see tenant farmers, field hands, seasonal workers... and their children...with stomachs bloated, eyes dulled, feet swollen, arms and legs matchstick thin.

The irony is that they aren't starving at a rate dramatic enough to arouse the indignation of the nation and the world. Otherwise *something would have already been done.*

One of the programs that is aiding many of these families is the federally sponsored Food Stamp Plan. Under this plan a needy family can convert a 50¢ food stamp into as much as $12.00 worth of food. The problem is getting that 50¢, because many families *have no income at all.*

The NAACP Special Contribution Fund is conducting a nationwide drive to help thousands survive. If you can do with one less "dinner out" this month, the money can mean a month's supply of meat, milk, and bread for a family of five. Just $10.00 buys up to $240.00 in food stamps.

If you would like to contribute to this fund, please send your tax-deductible check, for as little or as much as you can, to the NAACP Emergency Relief Fund.

Thank you.

*NAACP Emergency Relief Fund**
Dept. E40 *Box 121, Radio City Sta.*
New York, N.Y. 10019

*A project of the NAACP Special Contribution Fund—tax deductible arm of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UW.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB®

from Washington

Can't Be Done

At 9:35 Sunday evening, March 31, President Johnson's voice suddenly changed and it became obvious that he had departed from his prepared text. His Administration was hemmed in, there was the Tet offensive, the New Hampshire primary was a defeat and the Wisconsin primary promised a disaster. The nation was sullen, frustrated, rebellious.

The speech was taking a strange turn. The tone was humble and painfully intense. There were no flamboyant cliches nor partisan thrusts. The voice was level as Mr. Johnson said simply, "I shall not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party as your President."

And so, two years ago, the man who started with the highest majority in history ended with his party in shambles and a record he did not care to defend by seeking reelection. Sad, too; a man who wanted to be loved; a man of immense gifts who had given the nation a mighty advance in social welfare, consumed by a nasty little war.

One wonders if Mr. Nixon, too, will be a one-term President. Currently he has a substantial majority in the polls but it is below where Mr. Johnson stood at an equivalent time. A moral issue betrayed LBJ, not merely a feeling that he had picked a wrong course but a widening belief that he was falsifying facts.

In 1968 it was Vietnam. In 1970 the trap for Mr. Nixon may be civil rights.

Walter Lippmann was the nemesis of Johnson, the most powerful journalist in America. He said that the US would ultimately tire of such an exercise in futility as Vietnam, and withdraw. Most people now think he was right.

Today, Mr. Nixon has undertaken a new exercise in futility regarding America's most profound problem. Yes, we are a superpower; yes, we are the richest nation on earth; but yes, too, we are a racially divided country unlike any other great nation. Other Western lands willingly or reluctantly gave up their colonies; we cannot drop ours because it is within our boundaries.

One American in 10 is black; the 20 million black Americans are better off, better schooled, and more aware than their grandfathers who saw the great political sellout of 1876. The morally exhausted North accepted Hayes' accession to the Presidency and yielded up in return enforcement of civil rights for the better part of the next century.

Mr. Nixon is pursuing his Southern strategy, which is as much a will-o'-the-wisp in the long run as Mr. Johnson's adventure in Asia. He is trying to barter progress in integration for political advantage, but 1876 can't be repeated; no Grand Coulee can restrain this river.

Mr. Nixon is more oblique than Mr. Johnson. Even some admiring journalists say they don't know where he stands. Always he says that he loves the blacks and always, in practical terms, he has been competing with segregationist George Wallace. In cumulative detail Richard Harris in his book *Justice* ($6.95, Dutton) shows how Attorney General Mitchell has turned the issue of "Law and Order" against the Justice Department. That is only part of it. There is school integration, the Supreme Court, and all the rest.

Few whites like, or want, integration. The North begins to see the sacrifices as the South has long known them. But the alternative to integration is repression, which means a different kind of nation. The South had a closed society for a century but that is not viable on a national scale for a modern society.

Southern schools in the past 16 years have made real progress; it is now endangered because Mr. Nixon wants the votes of George Wallace. There is de facto segregation in Northern neighborhoods as whites flee to the suburbs. Like it or not, the problem cannot rest there. It is as unstable as the earthquake fault in California; sooner or later white suburbs and black ghettos must be brought together under unified metropolitan government so that commuters from bedroom suburbs will share taxes and responsibilities with the whole area in which they are involved.

Mr. Nixon's benign neglect policy won't work. The reasons are as simple as those mentioned by Lippmann about Vietnam. Political, economic and moral considerations will not permit second class citizenship for one American in 10 while the US remains a democracy.

According to Taste

The other day the President moved to abolish the 73-year-old Federal Board of Tea Tasters, along with 56 other federal programs, and our eye followed hopefully down the list. He is abolishing the nation's only remaining full-time tea taster and leaving the Subversive Activities Control Board. We think this is grossly unfair.

Tea taster Robert H. Dick, 55, does something useful. He has three part-time tea tasters, one in San Francisco, one in New Orleans and one in Boston (home of the tea party). They want the public to get highest grade tea.

The five man SACB has a somewhat similar purpose, to taste for subversive activity. But actually it doesn't. The courts say that what you can do for tea you can't do for people. Mr. Dick earns $16,000 a year for inoffensive tea-tasting. The five members of the SACB get $36,000 each for doing next to nothing at all. The tea board costs $127,000 a year. The Otto Otepka outfit costs $247,000.

Every now and then we drop by the SACB offices which are two blocks from the White House. There is an air of decline and desuetude like a genteel mansion waiting to be made into a funeral parlor. The great art is to find somebody there besides the clerk and secretary and assistant general counsel. (The general counsel has gone.) It is on the fourth floor of an office building on Vermont Avenue and it has two hearing rooms on the first floor, both locked. Sometimes they are used by the Veterans Administration. It is down to 14 people including the five $36,000 lame duck commissioners. It is supposed to ferret out organizations that are subversive, and individuals. (They had witch-finders in Colonial days.) We drop by there because it is quiet, serene and relaxed and we like to feel that somebody is keeping an eye out for godless Reds. To abolish the Board would rouse every crackpot in the nation. But for action you have to watch tea-taster Dick, meditatively tasting, swishing and expectorating from 39 cups lined up together.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 162, Number 13, Issue 2883, March 28, 1970. Published weekly (48 issues a year) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50c. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6; Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1970 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

5-7 Comment

Defusing the Bombs, Ecologists in the Mekong, Poverty Pocket

10 White Violence in Lamar – *Jack Bass*

12 Correcting Our Posture: Laird, Defense and SALT – *Ralph E. Lapp*

16 Films – *Stanley Kauffmann*

17 Books – Reviews by *John Kenneth Galbraith, Richard C. Lee, William B. Ober*

17 Poem –*Howard Nemerov, Peter Meinke*

23 Television – Pap from a Different Spoon? – *Robert L. Bishop*

25 The School Desegregation Debate (III) – *Michael B. Trister, P. Kent Spriggs*

28 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors – David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone, John Osborne
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors – Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, James Ridgeway, Paul R. Wieck
S.E. Asia Correspondent – Zalin B. Grant
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Reubena Faulconer
National Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
Advertising Sales – Holly Reppert
20 West 43rd St., New York, N. Y. 10036

Defusing The Bombs

The actual and threatened bombings of the past few days must not be glossed over as the actions of idealistic if misguided revolutionaries; they are the criminal acts of potential murderers.

– New York Times, March 13

Naturally. Idealistic and misguided revolutionaries tend to become criminals, even murderers. Ask Londonderry. Ask Tel Aviv. Ask Athens, Rome, Budapest, the Notting Hill section of London. Ask any national capital – well, perhaps Ottawa and Addis Ababa may be excepted for the moment, but hardly any other.

As far as this country is concerned, the question is not why we have criminal acts, but why do we have idealistic if misguided revolutionaries? The answer isn't in Peking, Moscow, Havana – or the TV studios that grind out sex and slaughter. As a matter of fact, only three of the six bombings that provoked the *Times* into something resembling hysteria were unmistakably revolutionary. The Greenwich Village explosion in New York City was obviously accidental – a case of "the enginer hoist with his own petar." The two in Maryland – the killing of two friends of Rap Brown and the demolition of the Cambridge courthouse – are of disputed provenance, perhaps revolutionary, but perhaps counterrevolutionary. The work attributed to the Weathermen is hard to distinguish from the work attributed to the Ku Klux Klan, both groups being predominantly white and wild. The fabrication and successful detonation of bombs is dangerous work, so much so that in the underworld the peterman – the safe-blower – is a specialist whose services command a high price from gang leaders. He is not employed except when the prospective haul is a really big one, and he is characteristically economical, using just enough explosive to effect his purpose with a minimum of noise and useless demolition. Whoever killed Rap Brown's friends was not a professional peterman, for a specialist would never have used a charge so grossly excessive.

Obviously, amateurs have been at work, and amateurs resort to this dangerous trade only when the motivation is powerful. This raises the question, what motivation is powerful enough to produce such a resort in this country? One that comes to mind immediately is frustration. Every amateur psychiatrist knows that a man subjected to persistent and apparently hopeless frustration may eventually

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

blow his top. The unstable are the first to explode, but even the emotionally sturdy can't take it forever.

Consider, then, the ordeal to which the American people have been subject for the past six years, not under amateurs but under professionals. Take Roman L. Hruska, the distinguished Republican Senator from Nebraska to start with, who last week defended the confirmation of G. Harrold Carswell as a Supreme Court Justice by saying, "Even if he were mediocre, there are a lot of mediocre judges and people and lawyers. They are entitled to a little representation, aren't they, and a little chance. We can't have all Brandeises and Frankfurters and Cardozos and stuff like that there." Our political system is so rigged that in 1964 the voters had to take Johnson or they would get Goldwater, and in 1968 they had to take Nixon or get what many regarded as merely Johnson with a falseface. At that, they very nearly took Humphrey. Four out of seven voted against Nixon, but he's President.

The legislative branch is as heavily loaded against prevalence of the will of the majority. Most members of both houses of Congress are registered as Democrats, but the key positions, the powerful committee chairmanships are awarded, not to talent, but to seniority, which guarantees that many of these controllers of the flow of legislation will be fossil relics of the nineteenth century whose mediocrity, though tolerable to Senator Hruska, would have kept them in relatively harmless obscurity but for the automatic elevator of the seniority system.

Twelve states with more than half the population of the country are represented by less than a fourth of the Senators, and the price of a Senate seat in any of these states is quite commonly more than the total of a Senator's salary for a decade. Will the Senator then represent the amorphous mass or the affluent few whose money put him in the Senate? Indeed, if he feels no obligation, moral if not legal, to serve his friends is he quite an honest man? He must not sacrifice the public interest to theirs, but in any close decision who knows what the public interest is?

The American public has been in the past realistic enough to know that the will of the majority will not always prevail, and to take it philosophically as one of the conditions of life. But when for years on end it seems that the will of the majority is *never* to prevail, when we are impotent to clean up the cities or the schools or the streets, or to halt a war that has cost us 40,000 men, although we never demanded it and Congress never declared it, when, whether we vote for Nixon or Humphrey or Wallace we still, in effect, get Johnson, then frustration is bound to accumulate dangerously. Add the racial tensions to which the deteriorating conditions of cities contribute, the urban renewal and freeway projects that have unhoused hundreds of thousands of white and black poor for the greater convenience of the well-heeled, the massive growth of unpunished crime and the fear that this spawns. Under such unbearable loads, some will eventually go off the deep end – the reverend clergy will destroy draft records, citizens will arm themselves, college students will throw deans downstairs, marchers will revile the cops. There will be assassinations and the far-gone will also plant dynamite bombs. Certainly bombings are "criminal acts of potential murderers," as the *Times* propounds. They must be put down with a strong hand, but that is only a temporary palliative. The cure is to break up the mounting frustration before it begins to throw hitherto sober citizens off their balance.

The remedies that Attorney General Mitchell contemplates are essentially designed to suppress, not to relieve. It is his job, of course to take such steps against unlawful dissent, as well as to capture and convict ordinary criminals. But the Attorney General and other members of the Administration have shown little understanding of the frustrations that cause dissent to be violent, and of why there is a recrudescence in this country of the criminal anarchy that was thought to have disappeared from the American scene half a century and more ago, never to return.

COMING: "The Nonsense Explosion" — a dissenting view of population control by Ben Wattenberg

Ecologists in the Mekong

When it was only the bankers and the engineers and Lyndon Johnson who were concerned with the Mekong Basin development plan, this scheme for a Southeast Asian TVA sounded like the perfect script for a postwar utopia. It was supposed to bait North Vietnam into negotiations and provide food, water and electric power on a scale to bring lasting prosperity to the entire region.

Now that the ecologists have taken a look, however, it appears that the great scheme as now contemplated could do more harm than good. Three scientists, recently returned from an intensive field study financed by the Agency for International Development, have recommended that the planners pay more attention to such problems as increases in disease and pollution that could result from damming the biggest remaining undammed, unbridged river in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the world. They conclude that the huge mainstream dam planned at Pa Mong on the Laos-Thailand border, which would form a lake one-fourth the size of Lake Erie and force the resettlement of 200,000 persons, should possibly be abandoned in favor of several smaller dams at other sites.

The floods would spread the snails that carry disease. The DDT that would be used to kill new pests would also kill off the cat population, allowing an explosion of the rat population, which, in turn, would eat into the contemplated increase in food production.

John P. Milton, deputy director of international programs for the Conservation Foundation, reports that snails and other pests would probably multiply with the change from seasonal flooding to year-around irrigation, carrying with them various diseases that they transmit to man. Milton says that the disease-bearing snails may now be controlled by the long dry season.

Displaced populations may fall victim to new strains of mosquito-borne malaria, says Milton. He cites a case in Northern Thailand where a dam forced the population to move to the hills. A new strain of malaria struck. Heavy use of DDT killed off the cats, and along came the rats. He concludes that the potential cost of dealing with the rats, the resultant diseases and crop destruction should be calculated as part of the cost-benefit ratio in planning.

Two huge mainstream dams are intended to force the resettlement of 700,000 people. Many will move from rich lowland rice paddies to hilly regions of poor soil, where irrigation, fertilizer, improved seeds and other aids will be needed to offset nutritional deficiencies. The fertilizer and pesticides will pollute the river.

David Challinor, director of the Office of International Activities of the Smithsonian Institution, reports that the huge new reservoirs of the basin plan would flood out some of the best hardwood and cotton producing sections of Thailand, as well as much rich rice land. He predicts that the displacement of farmers from these areas will cause social discontent, frustrating because there is no political mechanism through which they can express their opposition. "The Mekong Basin Development planners must carefully weigh the cost of displacing hundreds of thousands – perhaps even millions – of rural people against the theoretical advantage of immediate increased electric capacity and increased irrigation a generation hence," he writes. "Perhaps more numerous small projects, although less economic on paper, would in the long run cause less environmental disturbance. They would displace people in numbers that might be possible to handle, and the irrigation benefits would more likely be realized sooner."

Dr. Richard Van Cleve, dean of the College of Fisheries, University of Washington, predicts "a major debacle" unless the planners attack the problem of resettling the 200,000 persons who will be flooded out by the Pa Mong dam and the 500,000 to be displaced in Cambodia by the Stung Treng dam. He notes that millions of dollars have been spent in surveying dam sites but that he has discovered no plan for a study of the effects of the dams on fish in the Mekong, needed as a main source of protein.

Their findings add up to a modest proposal that the international planners consider before, instead of afterward, the full effect of their plan on one of the world's unspoiled river basins.

Poverty Pocket

The Pentagon's new cost-checking system isn't working well. Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard on February 25 threatened to cancel the first big weapons program negotiated by the Nixon Administration, a $3-billion order with Lockheed Aircraft Corporation for the S3A, a carrier-based jet plane that attacks submarines. Packard acted because his Department's newly installed reporting system told him that the cost of the contract, awarded last summer, had already shot up by $675 million. However, on March 11 Packard withdrew his threat, because the Navy told him the checking system hadn't caught up with 23 S3As that were first added to Lockheed's order, then canceled. Feeling a bit bamboozled, Packard intends to visit Lockheed's plant at Burbank, California, next month to look at the S3A program for himself.

Lockheed has other troubles. Last week board chairman Daniel J. Haughton informed the Pentagon that unless the corporation was paid $644 million for interim expenses, it wouldn't be able to finish work on four major defense contracts, most notably completing delivery of 81 C5A planes. In fact, said Haughton, Lockheed would have to go out of business. So far, Lockheed has delivered four of the 81 scheduled C5A planes to the Air Force; another 5 should be ready for delivery in July. That's 9. But Lockheed has already been paid more than $2 billion and the total cost of all 81 planes according to the federal government was to be $2.5 billion, all of which Lockheed will have received by July. The Air Force will then have 9 C5As, not 81. Lockheed apparently isn't proposing to build the other 72 unless it gets a lot more cash, and the same applies to other weapons Lockheed is under contract for. Yet the C5A, whose costs have zoomed most, is being built in a government-owned plant, at Marietta, Georgia, and the government picks up the tabs for 90 percent of the labor and materials costs as they come along. Lockheed's partial explanation is that it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

originally set out to build 115 planes, ordered by the Air Force, but the Nixon Administration cut this back to 81, for reasons of economy and because Congress had only authorized the Air Force to order 81.

Packard has said he would rather bail Lockheed out than have it collapse. The Navy's chief procurement officer, Gordon Rule, took a different line before Congress last year: "If defense contractors can't hack it . . . they ought to be terminated for default, and if they lose money and go bankrupt, let them do it. Maybe a couple of bankruptcies and defaults in the defense industry is going to do them good." That was not music to Packard, himself a former director and chairman of defense firms. Last week House Appropriations Committee chairman George Mahon (D, Texas) said that while he thought the C5A was needed, "you don't want to throw good money after bad," and Lockheed "just didn't do a good job on the C5A – they made a lot of mistakes."

What, How, For Whom?

Nixon's Family Assistance Plan

by Hirschel Kasper & Leonard Hausman

"I walk in like a man," he said, "and come out like a dog." And the other welfare recipients in the hall knew exactly what he meant because they, too, had known the tired unbelieving stares of the welfare caseworkers, and been shunted aside when they showed their welfare card to pick up their prescriptions, or ignored in the grocery store when they tried to use food stamps.

Frustration and unhappiness with the current welfare system is not confined to the recipients; social scientists, state and local governments, and taxpayers in general are also demanding sweeping changes. Last August Mr. Nixon proposed to revolutionize (at least reform) the structure. His Family Assistance System (FAS) bill has been approved by Wilbur Mills' House Ways and Means Committee and its passage seems assured when it reaches the House floor this month.

Revamping welfare is absolutely necessary. However, no one can foresee all the effects the new legislation may have. The primary clientele of welfare reform is the 10-15 million unsophisticated and largely unorganized poor, one-third of whom are black.

The Administration proposes to make the federal government responsible for providing a basic income for all families with children, even if the family head is at work. The basic income depends upon family size: $500 a year each for two people, $300 for each additional person. A five-person family (the average size of poor families with children under 18 years of age) would have a minimum annual income of $1900.

The FAS proposal (excluding day care centers and retraining allowances) would cost roughly $3.5 billion and would (a) supersede the demeaning welfare system of some eight states and temporarily narrow the discrepancy of payments by different states; (b) improve the level of assistance to recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children and to many families receiving state and local general assistance in nearly 20 states; and (c) encourage hundreds of thousands of poor working families to combine wage earnings with assistance payments, instead of seeking only welfare. This last effect of the Nixon plan may help reduce the bitterness which some of the working poor feel toward those on relief.

One worthwhile feature in the bill is its slightly more liberal treatment of the wage earnings of recipients, continuing the trend set by public assistance legislation in the 1960s. Until very recently, a family's welfare check was reduced by $1 for every $1 earned (economists spoke of a 100 percent tax on earnings), but the FAS proposal calls for only a $.50 reduction on each dollar. Thus, the federal government would continue to assist four-person families until their income reached $3200. In addition, the family could earn $720 annually (to cover "work expenses") without any reduction, so the federal government is really in the income maintenance business in all states until the family earns $3920.

Most states already offer benefits in excess of the FAS schedule. Therefore, in order to prevent a cutback from their existing scales of aid, they will be required to supplement the federal plan. In that way, there will be no reduction in the levels of benefits, at least up to the so-called poverty line. However, states which do supplement federal assistance may withhold a portion of the supplement that goes to those families which have earnings or some other kind of outside income. As a result, most FAS families would find that an additional $30 of earnings increases their total income by only $10; $20 of benefits have been withheld ($15 by the federal government and $5 by the state). This aspect of the bill probably reduces work incentives and so is inconsistent with the President's aim.

The FAS proposal is called an "income strategy" by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert H. Finch. In fact, a condition of many of its prime sections is that people find jobs. Adults have to register for and accept training or employment, upon penalty of losing their FAS allotment, unless they are ill or have children under six years of age. The work test would be administered in the states, and local administrators would have the widest discretion since no specific minimum standards are placed on the kinds of jobs or wages to be offered.

Indeed, the bill provides for "discretion" in many

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

areas: what kinds of irregular income to ignore, how often checks are to be disbursed, and what property the family may have and still be eligible for aid. The variety of discretion does not reflect "flexibility" or legislative uncertainly, but rather a continued demeaning attitude toward the poor. No taxpayer would stand for the Internal Revenue Service using *its* discretion to decide *his* taxable income or when his tax is due.

The bill also encourages families to spend their small savings or life insurance on household goods, promotes family exporting of children (to provide assistance for poor childless aunts and grandmothers), and forces bright college-age men and women to forego quality education because the value of room-and-board scholarships would be deducted from their family's FAS check. A noticeable gap in the legislation is the absence of an automatic cost-of-living increase for FAS recipients, such as the Administration proposes for people on Social Security. When it comes to assistance the government seems to see sheep and goats, and the poorest are called the goats.

Because the proposed payments are relatively high compared to both Southern wages and welfare, the FAS may tend to force up wages there and reduce migration to the North and West; attractive possibilities to some Southerners but very undesirable to others.

For some liberal Democrats the worst thing about the bill may be that it's the President's. The way to get around that, some of the Democratic tacticians decided, was to raise a cheer for FAS. Mills became its co-sponsor. However, the President (and the Republicans) are apt to reap substantial political gain from its passage in an election year. This takes on added significance because of the unusual stipulation that the bill will go into effect on January 1 following the fiscal year in which it is passed. Thus the Congress could pass Nixon's bill just before taking to the campaign trails this fall; the President would have seemed to respond to the "welfare problem," but little will happen for nearly a year and one-half.

The economic and political groping of the Democrats is accurately reflected in the wide variety of legislative flags which they have been flying: Senator McGovern has suggested that a very substantial national food stamp program, together with a children's allowance, is what we need; Senator Harris is trying to impress Washington politicians with the academicians' continued support of a generous and inclusive negative income tax; other Democrats are trying to bring the substance of the recommendations of the Commission on Income Maintenance to fruition in a bill.

Neither McGovern's proposal nor any marginal tinkering with the existing system is an adequate response to the impacted problems of poverty and welfare. Children's allowances, regardless of the amount or techniques of financing, are the most inefficient and inadequate way to tackle widespread poverty. They provide benefits only to families with children, practically without regard to family income, and ignore the rest of the poor. Assistance comparable to the FAS requires a recycling of about $60-billion a year through Washington. But even then the poor would receive only about one-half of the $7-8 billion which was redistributed.

The Income Maintenance Commission recommended a universal income supplement for *all* families at a rate of $750 a year for adults and $450 a year for children, with a $.50 benefit reduction for each dollar of earnings. Compared to the FAS, it is a higher basic grant at a slightly lower withholding rate. The "break-even" income level is nearly $1000 higher for a four-person family, $4800 instead of $3900. The report contains no recommendation about a work test. It places the burden of providing jobs entirely on the private sector, which is expected to offer low income workers jobs they will accept. The AFL-CIO, which has been cool to the FAS, should turn warmer to this proposal, because there is no chance that recipients could be forced to accept low-wage work. Its wider coverage, together with the higher payments, necessarily implies that this program will cost more, perhaps twice as much as the FAS.

The Harris proposal is an even more generous response to the needs of the poor and those who feel that society will be better off if the poor are. Unfortunately, while some of his suggestions merit serious consideration, Harris may be satisfied to obtain only political mileage from his still incomplete and amorphous proposal. He offers to provide "basic income benefits" for all individuals and families to bring them up to the official poverty line, adjusted for family and regional cost differences. Full benefits, however, would not be paid until after the fiscal year 1972 (when the poverty line for a four-person family may have reached $4000). In the meantime, he proposes to grant 70 percent of the poverty-line income in fiscal 1971, and 85 per cent in fiscal 1972. The earned income is treated ungrudgingly: the first $75 a month of each worker in the family is to be disregarded in the calculation of benefits; one-half of the next $150 a month, and one-fourth of the remainder is also to be ignored. As a result, a family with one breadwinner would be entitled to benefits until his earnings reached $6300; if other family members work, the benefit cut-off point could be higher. Unlike the income commission, Harris proposes a work test for benefits to able men and to women with children at home, but the jobs would have to pay at least minimum wages, and the hours and working conditions would have to meet local prevailing standards. The entire proposal could be conservatively

Mr. Kasper *is associate professor of economics, Oberlin College;* Mr. Hausman *is assistant professor of economics and social policy, Brandeis University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

estimated to cost an additional $20 billion a year, and thus, Harris recognizes, must be financed entirely from federal funds.

The problems of welfare are certain to become worse in the coming months. Rising unemployment will force more onto the rolls and inflation will cut into the worth of the benefits. The Congress has the opportunity, with the introduction of the Nixon bill, to fashion a program which treats the poor as tax-paying citizens, entitled to decent job opportunities and income maintenance. It requires only that the Administration and Congress forget their prejudice against the poor and bravely commit themselves to an "income strategy."

Washington Watched and Did Little Else

White Violence in Lamar

by Jack Bass

Columbia, S.C.

When a group of Southerners concerned about civil rights called on Attorney General John Mitchell in Washington last summer, he told them they would be "better advised to watch what we do instead of what we say." What the federal government did, or rather did not do at Lamar, S.C. the first week of March has been revealing. It was the first major test of Administration policy in dealing with segregationist violence against blacks in the South.

The day after the overturning of buses carrying black children to school, President Nixon "deplored" the violence, and Vice President Agnew said, "This Administration is going to make certain that all children, regardless of color, have equal access to quality education. I repeat, we will not tolerate violence or unlawful interference with that effort." The Lamar school in question was being integrated under federal court order. The Justice Department had been notified by state officials the day before that trouble was expected. Gov. Robert E. McNair declares that during the afternoon after the violence, Mitchell promised there would be federal arrests by the end of the day. There have been none yet. Seven ringleaders of the mob of more than 150 whites who attacked buses and battled state police before being dispersed with tear gas were merely called before a federal judge under a show-cause order and enjoined from further interference with the schools; state officials, who have made 31 arrests under criminal charges, consider this a slap on the wrist.

The anger of resentful South Carolina whites has been directed at McNair, a Democrat who ordered the arrests of attacking whites. He has also been criticized sharply by blacks for a "dual standard" of enforcement. Darlington County NAACP President Arthur Stanley says, "If it had been a black mob attacking a white bus, there would have been a massacre."

The violence came nine days after Rep. Albert W. Watson, who is favored to win the Republican nomination for governor this year, told a "freedom-of-choice" rally in Lamar that it was time "to stand up and be counted." During the rally, petitions were circulated to close the county schools. Darlington County schools were desegregated in February, and the petitioners believed that if they could force the schools to close they would somehow be reopened under freedom-of-choice. McNair, Lt. Gov. John C. West – Watson's likely Democratic opponent in November – and Arthur Ravenel, a Republican moderate running for the GOP nomination against Watson, all spurned invitations to the rally. Except in Lamar, a majority of the whites had sent their children to school; the white establishment in Darlington County was cautiously encouraging acceptance of desegregation. McNair had been accused of "surrender" by Watson after the governor urged compliance with the court orders in January, and had said on television, "We have run out of courts . . . and we must adjust to new circumstances."

United States Attorney Joseph O. Rogers had run for governor against McNair in 1966; Chief US Marshal Elliott Williams, a former Navy congressional medal of honor winner, had run unsuccessfully for sheriff of Darlington County in 1968 as a Republican. From the start, both these men, as was later shown, followed orders from Washington. Williams proved an effective witness in the federal court hearing at which a permanent injunction was issued against future interference with the Lamar schools. Rogers presented his case skillfully, displaying no bitterness over the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fact that his office had been bypassed by the governor when state officials gave advance warning of trouble to the Justice Department.

Top Republican officials here believe McNair, who is active in national Democratic politics, wanted the Administration to use troops and force another Little Rock, which set back Republican growth in the South in the 50s. The governor certainly *did* want the Administration to share in enforcing a federal court order. At 9 p.m. the night before the violence, South Carolina's Attorney General, Daniel R. McLeod, called Jerris Leonard, assistant United States Attorney General in charge of civil rights, to tell him there had been a confrontation in front of the Lamar school that morning, with two arrests and injury to one patrolman; tensions were high, a group of white citizens were bent on forcing the school to shut down. About 30 to 40 ax handles had been distributed to whites from a pickup truck in front of the Lamar school that afternoon. The state meant to protect the safety of people and property, McLeod said, but the federal government had responsibility for enforcing the court order. McLeod expected Leonard to let him know what Justice planned to do. Leonard never called back.

Tuesday morning, federal marshal Williams, who grew up in Darlington County and personally knew many of the demonstrators, drove to the Lamar school with three deputies. He was directed by US Attorney Rogers, under instructions from Washington, to observe what happened. McNair wanted Williams to appear alongside state law enforcement officials, so the demonstrators would know that both state and federal laws were involved. Williams, again following orders, refused to do other than observe.

McNair called Mitchell twice during the day, first at 8 a.m. soon after the attack on the buses had started; Mitchell said he would send additional marshals and an experienced Department attorney to the scene. McNair wanted federal arrests, since he saw no chance of a conviction in a Darlington County court with a local jury. A federal jury list, on the other hand, would come from almost half the state.

McNair called Mitchell again that afternoon. The governor says he was told there would be arrests before the end of the day. There were none; instead, notices were served on seven men to appear the following Monday in federal court in Columbia for a show-cause hearing. Mitchell did not call back. Next day, State Attorney General McLeod sent three lawyers from his office to Darlington to examine tape recordings of speeches, photographs by police photographers, statements by officers. They prepared warrants and more than 25 arrests were made by the state Wednesday night. The "riot" act, under which almost all of the arrests were made, is based on a vague state law now being challenged before the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals by the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference president had been charged under this law after an incident last summer. Except for a few cases at Lamar (such as one where a man who cracked a police officer over the head with an ax handle was clearly identified and charged with assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature), there was little else under state law with which to bring other charges.

At the federal hearing, the federal marshal testified first. All other evidence against the seven white men came from the state. There was no testimony from FBI agents. The federal marshal referred at one point to "an unidentified lady" pictured on top of a school bus as the mob swarmed around it and battled police. A woman with features identical to those of the "unidentified lady" sat in the courtroom during the hearing. State officials announced some arrests of women would be made, but backed off in fear that one might refuse to post bond and become a jailed martyr.

The behavior of the Justice Department seems very odd to former US Attorney Terrell Glenn, a lawyer in Columbia: "It is hard to see why the Justice Department, if it knew what it appears that it must have known on the day before, did not seek a restraining order or an injunction. I think they should have gone in to protect those seeking to enjoy the right provided in the court order and used what means they felt sufficient to accomplish that purpose."

He added, "There may well have existed grounds for arrest on violation of criminal statutes under section 241 of the federal code." The statute provides: "If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same . . . they shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both; and if death results, they shall be subject to imprisonment for any term of years or for life."

The US attorney, Mr. Rogers, seemed surprised when asked if conspiracy charges were being considered. "This is the first time anyone has suggested a conspiracy charge," he commented more than a week after the violence. Rogers made it clear that a decision on federal criminal prosecution in the Lamar case would be made in Washington, and only after full FBI reports are received and evaluated.

McNair was doubtless aware that federal arrests would hurt Albert Watson with George Wallace supporters. The governor now seems convinced that no federal arrests were made because of just such political considerations. Having to accept the full onus of using troops against white South Carolinians angered by integration has hurt McNair as a potential senatorial

---

Jack Bass *is the Columbia, S.C. bureau chief of the Charlotte (N.C.)* Observer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

candidate against Strom Thurmond in 1972.

The morning of the overturning, the governor promptly repudiated the "unspeakable acts committed against the school children of Lamar," and he followed up with a dagger aimed at Albert Watson: "As deeply as we deplore this incident, we are equally appalled at those who have helped to create the type of dangerous and inflammatory public attitude which makes such an act possible."

Although Watson too deplored the violence, his encouragement of those dedicated to closing down the Darlington County schools has done him no good with the "silent majority" that are appalled by what happened. And it has hurt Watson with law enforcement people, a powerful group in state politics.

McNair has been criticized fairly for providing insufficient force on Tuesday morning – there were 60 law enforcement officers, mostly highway patrolmen, present. But when federal arrests failed to materialize McNair *did* act. The next question is, what if a Lamar happens in Georgia or Mississippi, whose governors don't counsel compliance with court orders? Will it be Little Rock and troops, or will the Justice Department again decide it is the responsibility of the governor – Lester Maddox or John Bell Williams – and local officials to protect black children?

Secretary Laird's Defense Estimate, and the SALT Talks

Correcting Our Posture

by Ralph E. Lapp

Each year the Secretary of Defense makes what has come to be known as the Defense Posture Statement to the Congress. This year Secretary Laird has labeled it the "Defense Report" and has confined it to the defense program and budget for the fiscal year 1971. Previous occupants of Mr. Laird's chair projected a five-year period in their statements. That's now omitted. "It is essentially a transitional program and budget," the Secretary leads off, "designed to move the Nation's defenses in a safe and orderly way from the national security policies of the 1960s to those deemed more appropriate for the 1970s. In my view, it is a rock bottom budget."

On page two of the report it becomes clear that the "transitional" budget is related to the possibility of arms control. Mr. Laird states: "Following the exploratory arms limitation talks in Helsinki, the Soviet Union has agreed to discuss the limitation of strategic weapons systems with us in Vienna beginning in April. Hopefully, success in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) will move both our nations well along the road toward the era of uninterrupted peace we all seek."

Lest one think that an enemy agent had sprayed a toxic peace aerosol into the Pentagon's air conditioning, the Posture Statement follows up with many doubts about future threats from the Soviet Union and Red China. Still, hope is expressed that the restraints imposed on the defense program will be effective in the period of transition, although it is never made clear *what* restraints are to be imposed.

After many cliché-burdened paragraphs, Secretary Laird defines four overriding needs in reviewing our national security:

- A fresh appraisal of the forces which pose a threat to the security of the US and its allies;
- A realistic appraisal of the constraints – for example, the need to control inflation and reorder national priorities – within which our national objectives must be attained;
- New machinery, such as the revitalized National Security Council and the new Defense Program Review Committee, to deal effectively with national security problems within the complex structure of the government;
- New national security policy, strategy, and plans which would realistically match our military capabilities, and our research and technology activities, to our national objectives, our available resources, and the threats to our security interests.

The mammoth Pentagon is apparently going to take *another* New Look at national security. I, for

RALPH E. LAPP *is author of* The Weapons Culture.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one, shudder at the thought of the Defense Department messing around with national priorities, and I very much doubt whether any "new machinery" can solve defense problems. But at least one can proceed to look in the remaining 164 pages of the Posture Statement for some evidence of "fresh appraisal" and "new strategy and plans."

One thing that *is* new to this annual report is the emphasis on Red China. Presumably, the innovation is designed to accomplish several objectives: it backstops President Nixon in his assertion that it is absolutely essential to erect a ballistic defense shield against the threat of Chinese nuclear blackmail; it provides a strategic backdrop for the scenario in Vietnam; and it plays up the potential role of the "third nuclear power" which might complicate the SALT negotiations.

The question of China's ability to blackmail the major nuclear powers is one that has puzzled many observers. Why, for example, would not our deterrent forces restrain the Red Chinese leaders from a nuclear expedition against a giant? Previous defense secretaries have sidestepped this question, but not Melvin Laird. Several pages of the Posture Statement are devoted to showing that Red China possesses a secret weapon against our mighty nuclear power. It is China's agrarian society!

Mr. Laird cites the fact that 25 percent of the US population resides in our ten largest cities, compared with 11 percent in the 1000 largest Chinese cities. "Consequently," says the Secretary, "they could inflict on us a proportionately greater number of fatalities in a smaller attack than we could inflict on them in a very large attack." QED – President Nixon needs a new phase of our Safeguard ABM program to protect our cities against Chinese attack. That the Soviets might interpret such ABM deployment as the beginning of a thick defense against the threat of a Soviet nuclear attack is simply not mentioned by the White House or by the Pentagon. Yet last year President Nixon used this argument as critical to his decision in reorienting the Sentinel program for protection of Minuteman ICBM bases rather than cities. To be sure, the Congress has balked at this latest wild swerve in ABM policy, but apparently there was insufficient time for the Pentagon to rephrase its Posture Statement.

All of which leaves the concerned citizen (Mr. Laird expressly states that his report is meant for Congress *and* the American people) somewhat bewildered. If no ABM defense is provided for our cities, then it would seem the United States is vulnerable to threats of nuclear blackmail. But not from the Soviet Union, for that country is industrialized and half of its population is concentrated in cities; thus US nuclear retaliation can strike at a sufficient number of people to weigh heavily on the deterrent scales.

There is, however, something left out of the Posture Statement regarding the US nuclear strike forces. No mention is made of the lethality of high-yield nuclear weapons carried by heavy strategic bombers like the B-52 and the FB-111s. Each such aircraft can carry a bombload of from 50 to 100 megatons, i.e., 50 to 100 million tons of TNT equivalent. The radioactive fallout from a single bombload could send a lethal mist swirling over an area the size of a state like New York. Red China's land area exceeds that of US, but much of it is too high and dry to support population. Its masses of people, while not compressed into target areas that can be struck by the blast-heat of Minuteman warheads, are intensely vulnerable to widespread fallout. Half of China's population could be wiped out by a fallout campaign involving 100 strategic bomber missions penetrating to inland targets. An infinitely dirty business, but the Pentagon computers print out mortality tables quite impartially, never distinguishing between death from blast and heat or from fallout. (Nuclear blackmail is dirty business, too, it can be added.)

Secretary McNamara displayed the computer printout on Soviet mortalities from various levels of nuclear attack; one wonders why Laird keeps secret the computations on Red China. Do our planners fear a backlash from Japan, where fallout patterns would penumbrate the home islands? Or do they feel that such a nuclear deterrent threat would send a shock of revulsion throughout the world? Would fear of fallout in the United States produce repercussions hostile to the security interests of those who plan for military preparedness? Is the US deterrent against Red China deliberately disguised so as to favor an ABM system – one that could upset hope for agreement at the SALT conference?

The last question is a particularly disturbing one, because the SALT talks represent steps toward the first real arms controls that the postwar world has seen. Hard-line military men and their civilian counterparts have not been unduly disturbed by the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty or by the Outer Space Treaty or even by the recently formalized Non-Proliferation Treaty. But a limitation on strategic arms would represent a real threat to the power of the Pentagon. Conceivably, the Red Chinese threat could be invoked to prevent a SALT agreement on limiting ABM deployments.

President Nixon, himself, has gone to an extreme in defining the Chinese threat. "Ten years from now," he said on Jan. 30, "the Communist Chinese, among others, may have a significant nuclear capability . . . then it will be very important for the United States to have some kind of defense so that nuclear blackmail could not be used." To use a 10-year-from-now possibility as the basis for authorizing an extension of the Safeguard ABM system is surely a record in matching defense response to threat

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perception. On such a time scale almost any excess in defense planning can be justified.

If we turn from Red China and focus on the Soviet Union, then threat perception concentrates on the deployment of Russian ICBMs and specifically on the mammoth, liquid-fueled, SS-9s. It will be recalled that the SS-9 was Mr. Laird's excuse for revamping the Sentinel ABM system as a means of protecting our 1000 Minuteman ICBMs from a first strike. He was very specific—420 of the SS-9s, equipped with triple warheads, could kill off 95 percent of our ICBM force. In the Posture Statement there is considerable waffling on the SS-9. Last year Mr. Laird disclosed that the Soviets had deployed 230 SS-9s and projected a rate of 45 additional SS-9s per year. "We now estimate the number of SS-9 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) deployed or under construction to be over 275 . . ." says the Secretary. Stress is laid on Soviet missile increases, but in point of fact the numbers of SS-9s do not diverge very much from those projected last year. Yet the Secretary recommends jumping to Phase 2 of Safeguard and adding more protection to Minuteman bases.

Initially, Phase 2 was to have included two more Minuteman fields, but the number was halved at the last minute. The White House and Pentagon meteorologists failed to forecast the political clouds that gathered over Capitol Hill when the Administration made this second push on Safeguard. Accordingly the ABM deployment is being scaled back. On the other hand, everything else in the hardware department of the Military Establishment appears to be speeding up. The Posture Statement is full of aggressive language like: "We are proceeding with a program to place MIRVs (multiple, independently targeted, reentry vehicles) on our Minuteman and Poseidon missiles." "We are moving forward with the Short Range Attack Missile (SRAM), and we propose to continue development of a new Subsonic Cruised Armed Decoy (SCAD) for our bomber forces in FY 1971."

In effect, Mr. Laird is picking up all the options left in the McNamara legacy of weapons systems. The AMSA (advanced manned strategic aircraft), now known as the B-1, is also proceeding—a development certain to cost in excess of $10 billion. And on page 49 of the Posture Statement, Mr. Laird warns: "I will not hesitate at any time to recommend accelerated development of ULMS should the nature of the threat warrant it in the future." ULMS stands for Underseas Long Range Missile System, estimated to run as high as $30 billion if fully deployed.

Remembering that the initial deployment of Galosh missiles around Moscow in an ABM net, officially known as ABM-1, elicited a McNamara decision to deploy Poseidon, one wonders what threat will precipitate ULMS. Unabashed, the Posture Statement admits that "The system at Moscow consists of some 60 launchers . . . "—a threat to fending off our strategic warheads to which some thousands of US MIRVs will be dedicated. Mr. Laird, of course, does not specify this "exchange ratio."

An innocent reader going through the pages of the Secretary's first defense report would hardly know that the MIRV revolution was in full flame. Or that it had any overbalancing impact on the arms race. He would find on page one of the Posture Statement this ominous sentence—"The Soviets are continuing the rapid deployment of major strategic offensive weapons at a rate that could, by the mid-1970s, place us in a second-rate strategic position with regard to the future security of the Free World." This second-rate status is reckoned by comparative strength of each nation in terms of missiles—not warheads or "force loadings" (warheads and bombs).

The Soviet Union *has* drawn abreast of the United States in terms of missiles but has only a third of the force-loadings of the US strategic strike force. Even though the Soviets continue their missile deployments, they will lag behind in force-loadings in the mid-1970s. One looks in vain for any indication of this fact in the Posture Statement, which bears some remarkable similarities to Laird's 1962 book, *A House Divided*, in which arms superiority was enshrined as the goal of US defense policy. There, it even took the extreme form of advocating a first-strike policy. In fact, this was specifically defined: "What it means is serving credible notice, and meaning it, that we reserve to ourselves the initiative to strike first when the Soviet peril point rises beyond its intolerable limit." On page 43 of the Posture Statement we find a first strike option stipulated against Red China—"initiating a strike against Chinese ICBMs before they are launched."

There is a striking oddity about Secretary Laird's monomania on the threat of a Soviet first-strike. It is that the Soviets may be justified in attributing precisely the same capability to the United States. For example, how do the 1000 Minuteman silo covers appear to the Soviet planners? Each must be credited with containing maximum firepower, i.e. a Minuteman III triplet warhead with a weapon power and accuracy uprated to its full potential. This means the 1000 silos will be capable of unleashing a deadly rain of 3000 MIRVs each guided with an accuracy of a quarter mile or less and exploding with the power of one-third megaton.

On such assumptioning, the Soviet ICBMs are certain to be vulnerable to a US first-strike. This may account for the continued deployment of SS-11 and SS-13 missiles on the philosophy that they are intended to provide a residual second-strike capacity should a US first blow be made. The SS-9s are, accordingly, aimed at matching the US Minuteman strike force in order to give the Soviets a weapon-matching capability.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There are embodied in the Laird report three major defense choices, one for each service, each of which could whip up the arms race. The Army's Safeguard, the Air Force's AMSA (B-1) and the Navy's ULMS add up to a minimum of $50 billion in defense costs for the 1970s. And hard upon their heels are other choices like a mobile Minuteman and a sea-based ABM (SABMIS). The lead times for deploying these weapons systems are so long that a Secretary of Defense may elect to make decisions based on prudence and insurance against undue risk: the Department makes its own threat perceptions and risk evaluations. One is reminded of Matthew Arnold's "Dover Beach":

"And we are here as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night."

The US team at the SALT conference, which convenes at Vienna next month, has its own "darkling plain" as it struggles to come up with some rational negotiating position. A MIRV test ban is no longer in the cards, and this in turn makes any limitation of land-based missiles an almost impossible prospect. The reason is simple – US orbiting cameras can count missile silos, but their film cannot record how many warheads might be mounted on a single missile. Thus a warhead count is dependent on some form of on-site inspection, and this is also not in the cards.

As explained in *The New Republic* ("Can the Strategic Arms Race Be Halted?" Nov. 15, 1969) the long-term arms control situation zeroes in on sea-based deterrent systems. Here the US negotiators are confronted with a problem that is scarcely arguable at the SALT table – that of persuading the US Air Force to hand over primacy in strategic weapons to the US Navy.

It appears that any limitation of strategic offensive arms will be a long drawn out process, stretching over many months. It is highly unlikely that agreements can be reached before the Pentagon shapes up its fiscal year 1972 budget. Will it be another "transitional" budget? What weapons systems will not be pursued if the SALT talks deadlock or show little progress? This can be a self-defeating succession of events in which weapons technology simply races past the SALT negotiators.

Suppose the Soviets cease deploying the SS-9 that instills so much fear into the heart of Melvin Laird? Will this produce any defense cutbacks? Or will the US go right ahead with its drive for nuclear supremacy? What ever happened to President Nixon's "nuclear sufficiency" of last year? It doesn't appear in the Posture Statement this year. Maybe because Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard eschewed its inclusion, for it can be recalled that last year a *Washington Post* reporter asked his opinion of sufficiency and he replied: "It means that it's a good word to use in a speech. Beyond that it doesn't mean a goddamned thing."

If the SALT talks focus on strategic defensive weapons like ABM, the calculus of an agreement will be a delicate reckoning. The Soviets have deployed some 60 Galosh missiles, comparable to our obsolete and never-deployed Nike-Zeus missiles, although they may be replacing Galosh with the equivalent of our Spartans. But the Soviet ballistic defense is a one-shot affair, lacking the Spartan-Sprint one-two combination of the American Safeguard system. Furthermore, Soviet Galoshes ring Moscow to protect it against a US second-strike, whereas Spartans and Sprints will be deployed to defend missile silos against a first-strike. The basic asymmetry of US and Soviet ABMs thoroughly confounds an agreement on limiting these strategic defensive arms. However, ABM deployments are amenable to orbital inspection because defense technology limits an ABM to a single warhead. Thus any ABM agreement can be policed from orbit.

America cannot export its arms control problem to Vienna and put it on the SALT table. The real barriers to limiting strategic arms are just as much a home problem. For example, the White House may take the high road of arms policy and speak of nuclear sufficiency, necessity for slowing the arms race and willingness to negotiate (Potomac East policy), but the Pentagon's language is different ("second-rate strategic position" and "we are proceeding . . ."). Potomac West policy is articulated in a military hardware form that the Soviets understand. The Kremlin's experts are quite capable of reading Secretary Laird's defense report and of appreciating its significance to the arms race.

That the Kremlin perceives the two roads of defense policy is illustrated by a recent (March 7) *Pravda* statement on the SALT talks. For example, it asks: "What is the correlation between the well-intentioned official speeches which ring out at times in the United States in connection with negotiations and those deeds and tendencies manifest in practice in developing the strategic arms race?" Almost on cue, the U.S. Air Force responded on March 10th by disclosing that Minuteman III will be deployed with MIRV warheads sometime this year.

The cover page of the Laird Posture Statement makes it clear that the report is addressed to the Armed Services and Appropriations Committees. These congressional committees are generally sympathetic to the requests of the Defense Department. What is needed now is an adversary proceeding in which the Defense Secretary's report is subjected to merciless and hostile criticism. The Congress needs some mechanism for generating an anti-Posture Statement of its own. Preparations for war – and for peace – have become too important to be left in the hands of a Secretary of Defense.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

Winter Wind

(Grove Press)

Loving

(Columbia)

Winter Wind is confusing, and I left the theater disappointed in this new film by a director I admire, Miklós Jancsó. But then it began to work, retroactively. The confusions are not clarified now, but a rationale for the confusions becomes clear, an aesthetic rationale.

This is Jancsó's third film since *The Red and the White* (1968); the two intervening films – *Silence and Cry* and *Ah! Ça Ira* – have not yet been shown here, so it is impossible to discuss his development in an orderly way. But some connections are evident even on the other side of this jump. His theme is once again power, the power of some men over other men's lives and the desire of the other men to reverse that power structure, and the way that the contest gets transmuted into statements of ideals. Once again he is concerned with the record of those contests, called political history. Once again he uses sex – not love, but sex, nakedly represented by female nudity – as a chemical in the compound. Once again violent death is treated, both by killer and killed, as an event whose time has come; once again fear is never shown, not because all these people are brave but because the characters have accepted their destinies in life, as the actors have accepted playing those characters.

The opening consists of clips from a famous newsreel of political assassination, the shooting of King Alexander of Yugoslavia at Marseilles in 1934 (and also of Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, who was welcoming him to France). This is shown silently, accompanied only by slow gong strokes. Then we are told that the story we are about to see deals with events leading up to this assassination, which was planned by the Ustashi. The latter were a group of Croatian fascist terrorists, trying to wrest Croatia from Serbian domination.

The first sequence that follows is the first of the unexplained incidents, an assassination attempt by a Ustashi band. We never know where the attempt takes place or who is in the carriage coming along the snowy road. All we know is that the sequence is filmed beautifully, almost idly – all we hear are hooves and shots, and the cawing of crows, as the camera circles continuously; following the men as they ride and walk across the snow-covered fields, take their places, then fire and are fired upon, and fall or flee, in a waking dream of killing. When Jacques Charrier, as the leader of the band, is waiting behind a tree for the carriage and crosses himself with a hand that holds a pistol, he epitomizes the film's atmosphere.

All the rest takes place on an estate in southern Hungary near the Croatian border, where the Ustashi are hiding while they plan the assassination of the king. The materials of the picture are the suspicions bred among conspirators by the very act of conspiracy, the corruption of small loyalties within the outlines of a large loyalty, the masquerades of ego and sadism under the name of fervor for freedom. The action centers on the leader, Charrier. At the end his followers form an agreement of cooperation with their Hungarian hosts. He refuses to abide by this agreement, refuses to commit suicide, expects to be shot, and is promptly shot. Then he is made into a martyr; the last scene is an oath of fealty to the movement in his name.

That much is clear. But dozens of details in the film are unexplained, abruptly introduced and dropped. Some examples: Why, when the spy is discovered, is he taken out and made to lie down in the snow, then ordered to get up again, and only much later shot? Who is the tall moustached man who brings the teen-age girl with him? Why does he make the two other women in the house undress? Why does he make the girl take a bath with one of them? I have no idea. (There are also anomalies of language: for example, they all speak French – this is a Franco-Hungarian co-production – yet sing their anthem in Croatian.) Trying to follow the story of this picture, as story, is an exercise in frustration. Yet, incredibly, after the film is over, a feeling begins to seep through the accumulated frustration: that the bafflement was expected by Jancsó; that it is the *choice* of an obviously skilled and accomplished artist.

Subsequently I read a recent interview with Jancsó, conducted by Jean-Louis Comolli and Michael Delehaye, in which they asked him why he refuses to give explanations and shows only unmotivated acts. He replied that it was because of conditions in Hungary where "we cannot put our message across as clearly and directly as we would like. . . . Since all of us want to say something, and at the same time are not forthright enough to do so, we count a great deal on the form of the film to make a statement. . . . Perhaps that is the reason why situations and acts are the most important things in my films. What interests me most is form."

He says that for several centuries, because of continually changing internal conditions, Hungarians have had to speak obliquely, using shape to suggest substance. We might cite exceptions, but perhaps Jancsó has found a rationale in the present authoritarian Hungarian state for a "private" method that he really has arrived at out of his own psychology and aesthetics. At any rate, his film does find its life through its form.

This form has two principal aspects First, the visible statement of unexplained acts in order to reach the unstated. The aim seems to be to make a film with the *after-effect* principally in mind. Second, the use of continuous, generally circular camera movement. There are fewer than fifteen cuts in this film: which means that the entire 80 minutes were photographed on fewer than fifteen pieces of film. Compare that with, for instance, *Rashomon* which runs 88 minutes and is composed of 407 bits of film. Jancsó literally *follows* the action. There is not even so-called "editing within the camera" – a process in which the camera is stopped, moved to a different set-up, and started again. Kurosawa has said that he photographs in order to have something to edit. Jancsó is photographing in such a way that editing is superfluous: which means that a good deal of his creative process takes place at an earlier stage in the making of his film.

Also, he has said that he shoots his films silent, or with a sound-track merely for purposes of record, so that he can direct his actors while the cam-

(Continued on page 30)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Kenneth Galbraith: A Revisionist View

Odyssey of a Friend: Whittaker Chambers' Letters to William F. Buckley, Jr., 1954-1961

(Putnam; $6.95)

One evening in January, 1950, I was stopped on Fifth Avenue by an acquaintance who served as the intellectual MVB for the House of Morgan. He told me, without visible regret, that the jury in the second Hiss trial had just returned a verdict of guilty on two counts of perjury. My pain was greater than his. Clearly the enemies of the New Deal, all who hated FDR, his works and legions, would now have a field day. My sense of abstract moral concern is always usefully enhanced by being personally involved. I had been politically and emotionally a part of the Administration and though a later arrival than Alger Hiss – whom I knew but casually – had held a rather more important post. I had another thought. Were Hiss in fact innocent no one was exempt from a monstrous frameup. Were he guilty no one would be exempt from suspicion. I continued on my way in a thoughtful mood.

In time, like most liberals, I came to accept the guilt of Hiss. The importance of the information that he passed to the Soviets from his State Department job having to do with trade agreements was probably slight. It could have been negative. Considering the number of spies they seem to have had it quite possibly added to a confusing excess. We ourselves now know what that means. And by the time of the second trial Hiss was subject to the most serious flaw in our jurisprudence which is its terrible vulnerability to the hanging public mood. But to believe he was telling the truth required more effort and imagination than I could muster. Since then various of those who were named as his associates in the Party have conceded that, indeed, they were his associates.

Alger Hiss, one must conclude, was shot down as he had all but completed one of the most audacious political traverses of all time – from the Communist apparatus of the thirties to the Cold War Establishment of the late forties. Already he had sold himself to John Foster Dulles. So aided he had reached the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, an organization deeply committed to the more scholarly aspects of the strictly predictable view. He was helping to organize enlightened citizens on behalf of the Marshall Plan – and one recalls what threat that was designed to meet. Eventually he would have been a man on whom Dean Rusk could have relied. When the time came for a diplomatically experienced man in Saigon or Paris, someone who would never be associated with a useful and hence disturbing initiative, he would have done instead of Henry Cabot Lodge.

While I came to accept Hiss's guilt, and in degree to blame him for Joe McCarthy, I never got around to forgiving Whittaker Chambers. He had spied on a far more formidable scale than Hiss, though admittedly without the same official connections. But having repented, informed, and somewhat belatedly (after first denying it) confessed to espionage, he had been washed clean. Hiss hadn't made it to the Establishment but Chambers was all the way in as a patriot.

In the late fifties I was visiting John Strachey near London one weekend and was astonished and a little shocked to hear him say he thought Whittaker Chambers was one of the most important and interesting literary figures of our generation. He took a copy of *Witness* down from his shelf and urged that I reread it. I somehow doubt that I had really read it before. Strachey was a man of great intelligence and liberality of mind and excellent literary judgment. I reread the book and concluded that, as usual, his judgment was sound. The book is morbidly concerned with the Communist threat in the United States; it exaggerates the rôle of the Party and the associated conspiracy. This warps the author's judgment on many matters. One is put off by the righteous denunciation of men who are acting on beliefs that were his own a few years before. But the book is extremely learned, frequently perceptive, and a superb piece of writing. I concluded that I had

The Most Expensive Picture in the World

We stand in line all morning long to see it,
And finally, when we do come face to face
With the seamy canvas and its crackling glaze,
Where the figures hover and glow from a black smoke
Of dried and crusted oils, we are impressed –
How could we fail to be impressed? and yet
With a distinct sense of something's having failed.
The most expensive picture in the world?
Either we are edified by that, or else
Not edified at all: though someone says,
Just as we leave, a rather thoughtful thing
That might have saved the day if saying could:
"It is the most expensive picture, yes,
But only in the world."

Howard Nemerov

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SHEED & WARD

The only book on the religious situation in Vietnam

THE CROSS AND THE BO-TREE
Catholics and Buddhists in Vietnam

by PIERO GHEDDO

A priest, and a former correspondent in Vietnam for the Milan daily, *L'Italia*, presents his firsthand observations of the religious aspects of the war in Vietnam, a war which he calls "detestable." Piero Gheddo's informative report on a highly complex situation is searching and objective, and he explains why it is urgently important that Buddhists and Catholics end their quarrels and "start talking to each other." $7.95

A "prayer book" for modern man

WHO AM I?
Second Thoughts on Man, His Loves and His Gods

edited by
LOWELL D. STREIKER

WHO AM I? is dedicated to the contemporary quest for personal meaning. It is made up of meditations and statements from witnesses as diverse as Malcolm X, Martin Buber, Thomas Merton, Sri Ramakrishna, Bertrand Russell, Henry Miller, Robert F. Kennedy, Dick Gregory and Theodor Reik. The result: a book as illuminating as it is provocative and of special interest to the young. $4.50

At your bookstore, or from
SHEED & WARD
64 University Place
N.Y. 10003

rejected it because I did not care for the author or his political associations. This is not the best foundation for literary or artistic criticism and one that provokes a certain measure of objection when employed by pre-Cambrian congressmen against Communist painters.

Now a large number of Chambers' letters have been published. They are fascinating. Every person who wants to understand this period of history and its participants needs to read them. They add little on the Hiss case. But being informal and undesigned they tell much about Chambers. Much of it is very surprising.

It is not news that Chambers destroyed Hiss. But these letters show that Hiss also destroyed Chambers. After the trials he was a wounded man, fearful of the press, passionately anxious to regain his privacy, afraid lest public opinion would vindicate Hiss and indict him, resentful and angry at the way the Establishment, as he regarded it, seemed determined that this should happen. No longer a senior editor of *Time*, he was short of money. His health was broken and he lived in the shadow of sudden death. He is still bugged about Communism but it is no longer a dominating theme. Often he is kindly and mellow.

Most of these letters are addressed to William F. Buckley, Jr. It is clear from between the lines that Buckley admired Chambers and sensed both the quality of his writing and the depth of his erudition. He was more than kind to Chambers and the latter responded. He speaks of his "sense of gratitude, highly personal" when "my grateful colleagues of the American press [among whom I was not, surely, the least practitioner] slammed the door tight in my face."

But Buckley also needed Chambers. He was faced with the most formidable of publishing problems, that of finding literacy combined with thought on the right. Professor Thomas Nixon Carver of Harvard, a conservative monument of a half century ago, once promulgated what came in highly limited circles to be known as Carver's Law. It held that the trouble with radicals is that they read only radical literature and the trouble with conservatives is that they don't read anything. Reading and writing have a well-established association. So having largely exhausted the supply of home-grown reactionaries whose turgidity of style was within allowable limits of tolerance when he hired himself, Buckley had to rely on the reformed radicals – the more than adequately eloquent graduates of the Communist Party or the less drastically regenerated followers of Leon Trotsky. In erudition, editorial skill, imagination and as a writer none rivalled Whittaker Chambers. Chambers himself saw the problem. In a letter to Buckley in 1957 he notes that "Curiously (perhaps you will suppose perversely) your belief that NR (*National Review*) is full of readable copy troubles me most." Close students of *National Review* will wonder if Buckley read this letter with the attention that it deserved.

Though Chambers was needed, these letters show that he posed some interesting problems. As a writer he was a perfectionist; he seems regularly to have torn up letters because they were not up to standard. There are many references to hopelessly delayed copy. He greatly admired Buckley and respected James Burnham – to whom, incidentally, along with Adolf Berle we owe no slight debt for our understanding of the modern large corporation. But he had a highly limited view of his other *National Review* colleagues. Sharing with Buckley in the launching of the journal was one Willi Schlamm, like Chambers an old Time, Inc. hand. Unlike Chambers he had been expelled from the Communist Party. Reflecting on this, Chambers shows detectable Communist sympathies. (Later, after an eruption among the editors that would have been somewhat notable in SDS, Schlamm departed forever for Germany.)

Chambers had contempt for Joe McCarthy – "a man of bilious ineptitude," and "a heavy-handed slugger who telegraphs his fouls in advance." He thought Dulles, whom Hiss had adopted, a sanctimonious fraud. He was more reticent on Nixon but confesses in one letter that he is a man to whom he could find nothing whatever to say.

His political views are even more surprising. He was deeply and perceptively concerned about the arms race and strongly opposed to the tendency of his colleagues to hint at war without facing its consequences. He associated Khrushchev with a major change in Soviet policy toward the West – the rankest of heresy in his circles – and in these letters strongly supported the idea of meeting him half

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

way by offering a general pullback in Europe. "This is not 1932. . . . The greatest drama of the great century is in play." He thought the Republicans were without future unless they captured, i.e. outbid the Democrats for, the support of the masses of the people. He was sternly against censors and censorship, even of such (for the time) hideously pornographic works as *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, equally against wiretapping, and he was for the integrity of the courts and for passports for everyone including, in particular, Alger Hiss. He thought old-fashioned free enterprise was dead and had an enchanting quarrel with his colleagues over the treatment accorded a book by Ludwig von Mises, a major apostle of the choleric right. Reacting a trifle untactfully to what could only be his view of the average *National Review* reader, he warned that the book would not "harm anyone above the mental age of twelve. But its power to harm minds under that age is great indeed." In May of 1957 he guessed that there might be trouble from Republican economic management by the end of the decade. He predicted that it would elect John F. Kennedy. Eventually he resigned from *National Review*. Alas that he did not remain and live. Nothing is so needed as conservatives of such views.

But to emphasize the political interest of these letters is, in a way, to mislead. They are more important for the depth of personal feeling they convey and as an exercise in profound self-revelation. And there is also once again – but quite unostentatiously – their depth of learning. Chambers must have been one of the most avidly intellectual men of the century. The letters affirm the latter point with a detail of Chambers' personal history of which few can be aware. In 1959, at the age of 58 with by his own knowledge and calculation only a few months or years to live, he went back to university as a full-time student. His courses included elementary economics, Greek and French composition. He took classroom discussions very seriously and must have been a terrible trial for his infinitely less informed teachers. He was very pleased by his grades. There aren't so many such writers that one can be ignored.

Ode to Good Men Fallen Before Hero Come

In all story before hero come
good men from all over set forth
to meet giant ogre dragon troll
and they are all killed every one
decapitated roasted cut in two
their maiden are carted away and gobbled like cupcake
until hero sail across white water
and run giant ogre dragon troll quite through

Land of course explode into rejoicing
and king's daughter kisses horny knight
but who's to kiss horny head of slaughtered
whose bony smile are for no one in particular
somewhere left out of story somebody's daughter
remain behind general celebration
combing her hair without looking into mirror
rethinking life without Henry who loved his porter

I sing for them son friend brother
all women-born men like one we know
ourselves no hero they no Tristan
no St. George Gawain Galahad Sgt. York
they march again and again to be quartered and diced
and what hell for them never attempt to riddle
I'm talking about Harry Smith caught in middle
who fought pretty bravely for nothing and screamed twice

Peter Meinke

"The finest book on the American police ever written."*

VARIETIES OF POLICE BEHAVIOR
The Management of Law and Order in Eight Communities
By James Q. Wilson

One of the most timely books out today looks at how "cops" act and why. What is the distinction between the policeman's duty to *maintain order* and his obligation to *enforce the law?* What about discretion? Liberty? Physical force? How do law, local politics, public opinion, and behavior of offenders affect policing styles? How could police departments be restructured to better use police resources and manpower? Here are some straight answers.

"A welcome and sympathetic report . . . [given] with a kind of realism not often found in sociological literature." — *American Sociological Review*

"Rich . . . full to the brim with increasing details and shrewd insight. Anyone who wants to have an informed opinion about the policeman's relation to law and order ought to read it." — **The New Leader*

"Provocative . . . controversial . . . significant."—*Library Journal*

"An important book."—*The Journal of American History* $6.50

And . . .

TRAFFIC AND THE POLICE
Variations in Law-Enforcement Policy
By John A. Gardiner

"Shows the interplay of a number of related structures in the administration of community justice, the courts, the city administration, as well as overt and covert public pressures as influences upon traffic enforcement practices. Most importantly, the volume confirms a persistent public suspicion that no widespread, uniform traffic enforcement policy can or does exist from community to community in the nation." — *Public Administration Review* $6.00

Joint Center for Urban Studies
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"one of the most important books . . . yet written about Vietnam."
—Publishers' Weekly

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

Saigon, U.S.A.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

by Alfred Hassler
Introduction by
Senator George McGovern

"A telling indictment of President Thieu's régime." —Saturday Review

"An impassioned plea to leave Vietnam to the Vietnamese."
—Book Week

$6.95 Cloth; $3.25 Paper

Richard W. Baron, Publisher

"The articles are well-written and lively . . . for the political minded, a field day."
—Publishers' Weekly

FOR A NEW AMERICA

Essays in History and Politics from "Studies on the Left" 1959-1967. Including articles by Gabriel Kolko, Eugene D. Genovese, Harold Cruse, William Appleman Williams, Ronald Radosh, James Weinstein, Norman Fruchter, and others on American corporate liberalism, black nationalism, socialism in America, and Jewish identity. Edited by JAMES WEINSTEIN and DAVID W. EAKINS.

$10 clothbound; $2.95 paperbound
Now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE

Richard C. Lee: His Honor Revisited

The City
by John V. Lindsay

(Norton; $4.50)

I know a reviewer is supposed to be detached and objective, but I have been involved in the urban scene for more than two decades – 16 years as Mayor – and so found myself living each moment with John Lindsay – the political conflicts, the frustrations, the moments of depression and hopelessness mixed with the memorable moments of progress. I had to chuckle at some of John's initial experiences, and at his righteous outrage at the irrationality of bureaucratic structures which have become masters of the men who invented them.

There's the New York Sanitation Department, for example, which manufactured its own batteries at a cost several times higher than the market price. "Why? Because nobody had ever asked why the Sanitation Department didn't buy the batteries instead of making them, and because any suggestion to shut down an inefficient government activity is regarded as sacrilegious by many, and in any event can easily bring on a strike."

Then, there are the many cases – I remember them well – of jurisdictional overlaps and infighting between departments. Hence, "complaints about water could be handled by the Buildings Department, the Health Department or the Department of Water Supply, depending on whether the caller was complaining about no water, insufficient water, or insufficient *hot* water."

I suppose one of the first challenges a mayor must learn to face is how to rationalize the bureaucracy and at the same time accept some of its apparently immutable irrationality. Perhaps it is the great frustration mayors feel about outdated governmental procedures and institutions which impels us to go to the streets, where we can cut red tape and deal directly with the citizens we are supposed to be representing.

One of John Lindsay's most significant achievements as mayor – and one which has apparently most captured the imagination of the rest of the country – has been his ability to break down the barriers between white and black people and to earn the trust and respect of the nonwhite population of the inner city. Like Robert Kennedy, he went into their neighborhoods and showed that he cared, that he understood their problems. He went to places where, and at times when, few white men – certainly few public officials – would have dared go. In *The City* he describes such visits with a vivid simplicity. He talks of a tense outbreak of racial conflicts in East New York between blacks, Puerto Ricans and whites. Having heard of the impending trouble, he visited a small park where crowds had gathered – an informal "no-man's land" between white and black. He first talked to a group of angry whites (one yelled "Go back to Africa, Lindsay, and take your niggers with you"), and then tried to open up communication between leaders of the various groups. Then when a black youth had been shot and killed during sporadic shooting, he invited leaders from all sides to City Hall for a Saturday morning meeting. "I do not think City Hall has ever witnessed that kind of meeting – the language and the exchanges were brutal," he writes. "But it represented for these youths the first sign of any kind of communication with each other."

Then, there was the evening of April 4, 1967, when Martin Luther King, Jr. died from an assassin's bullet. Within an hour of the news, John Lindsay was walking along 125th Street, accompanied by only a black detective. "I put my hand on the shoulder of each man we passed and expressed shared sorrow. There were no words spoken in exchange, only a nod of recognition. . . . I kept moving, but finally I was hemmed in from all sides. Occasionally, I could hear my name shouted and at other times I could hear men and women weeping

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or moaning. I was aware once in a while of groups of young men and boys running through the crowds down the street – and I heard sporadic sounds of breaking glass." He remained on the streets of New York most of that night and, while many other cities burned, New York avoided any major incidents of violence or rioting.

These examples say a lot about John Lindsay and the kind of philosophy he brings to the job of mayor. They show more than his obvious courage in going directly into the black neighborhoods, which struck such a responsive chord in the nation. They show his understanding of the sense of alienation and helplessness which many people – not only blacks – feel towards their government, and the yearning for *personal* contact and *personal* concern by elected officials. And they show his commitment to the mayor's remaining on the front-line – accessible to his constituents, there to see the problems and to do whatever he can – directly and personally – to alleviate them.

But, most importantly, Lindsay recognizes that such visits are not enough, that, in his own words, "people would not believe a symbol in the absence of an actual accomplishment, some continuing demonstration that the nonexistent links between citizens and community would be rebuilt." He recognizes that the cities of this nation – in particular, the black neighborhoods – will continue to seethe with violence and despair until federal and state governments commit massive resources and energy to the root problems of poverty, education, jobs and housing.

I enjoyed the first half of *The City*, which describes the mayor's personal day-to-day experiences; but, it is the second half – entitled "The Deeper Struggles" – in which he makes a very significant contribution to the study of urban America. He analyzes in detail two of the "pervasive dilemmas" of urban life – poverty and welfare, and the problem of crime – and proposes new approaches and techniques which will undoubtedly serve as a blueprint for mayors across the country in the coming decade. Following a perceptive analysis of the causes of poverty and the problems of the poor, he makes a number of specific proposals. He urges the establishment of a national income-maintenance scheme to replace the welfare system, a comprehensive approach which includes separate programs to provide social services, work incentives, and job training. And he tells of creative techniques employed in New York to improve the police department, and his effort to launch a "total mobilization of the resources of the city . . . to build a total system of crime-fighting machinery in every phase of city life that affects personal safety, from the police force to the courts and the correctional institutions."

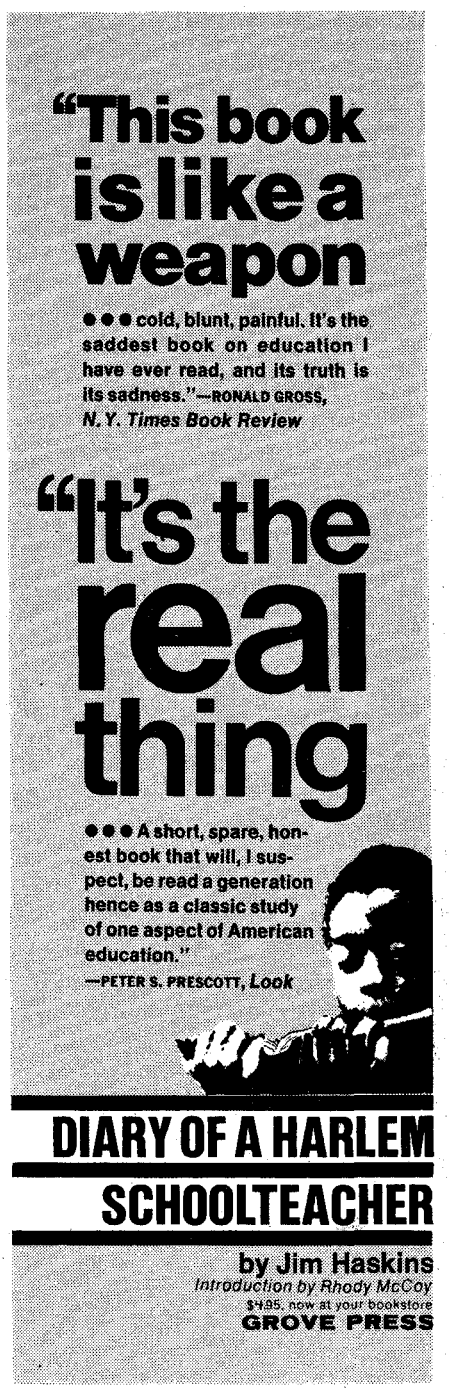
But, beyond the specific solutions and approaches, as I'm sure Mayor Lindsay would agree, there is a crucial challenge facing the mayors of this nation. We have had commissions and commissions, and all propose similar solutions, and all come to the same conclusions: what the cities need more than anything is money. "The ultimate problem is money – or, rather, the problem of not enough money," he writes. "Whatever else a city can do, it cannot provide the services its people want if it does not have the money to pay for them. And our cities don't have the money. There is no other business I can think of where the proprietor knows *absolutely* that he will face bankruptcy every year."

And so, the real challenge of urban leadership today lies in the ability of mayors and other public officials to rally the nation to a drastic reordering of our national priorities. In the final section of the final chapter of his book, John Lindsay writes with obvious feeling about the incredible misallocation of resources which has resulted in the neglect and decay of our cities.

For example, more than one trillion dollars have been spent since World War II on national defense, "a figure," says the mayor, "all but incomprehensible. It is a thousand billion dollars, more than all the money spent by New York City and New York State since they were founded." The many paradoxical statistics showing these priorities should be quite familiar now – more than $30 billion a year in Vietnam, more than $25 billion to put a man on the moon, $60 billion for highways and little for mass transit, millions and millions lost every month by waste and overruns in the Pentagon – yet, a $10 million rat-control bill nearly laughed out of Congress, the Model Cities program cut back, poverty programs for job training and remedial education phased out, and in Washington cries of "waste" and "socialism" when someone discovers that a welfare family had received $20 a month too much for a few months.

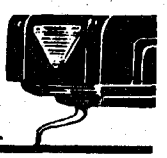
An immense task of public education lies ahead. But more than simple information-distribution is necessary. Men are needed who can exert national leadership – *moral* leadership; men who by their words and example can convey to Americans the sense of moral outrage which all should feel about these misallocations of resources. For, in the end, this is fundamentally a question of right and wrong: it is simply not right, not just, for men and women of this country to live in degradation and poverty while millions are wasted on efforts which ignore human needs.

John Lindsay uniquely possesses the ability to reach out and touch in the hearts of Americans their fundamental


"This book is like a weapon
●●● cold, blunt, painful. It's the saddest book on education I have ever read, and its truth is its sadness."—RONALD GROSS, N.Y. Times Book Review
"It's the real thing
●●● A short, spare, honest book that will, I suspect, be read a generation hence as a classic study of one aspect of American education."
—PETER S. PRESCOTT, Look
DIARY OF A HARLEM SCHOOLTEACHER
by Jim Haskins
Introduction by Rhody McCoy
$4.95, now at your bookstore
GROVE PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

waxing verbal



an unprecedented selection of spoken records now available to New Republic readers.

5. REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
The Original Address from March on Washington, August 28, 1963 **4.98**

11. REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
"In Search of Freedom," excerpts from his most famous speeches. **4.98**

22. ROBERT FROST
Reading his own works **6.50**

24. CARL SANDBURG
American Songbag. He sings fifty selections from his collection. Set of 2—12" LPs **13.00**

35. DYLAN THOMAS reading his complete recorded poetry. Set of 2—12" LPs **13.00**

39. MARK TWAIN TONIGHT! Hal Holbrook as one of the most distinguished theatrical events of any season. **5.98**

168. HAMLET
Burton, Broadway cast. 4 LPs **15.98**

272. REINER AND BROOKS
2000 Year Old Man. One of the humor greats of our time. **5.98**

274. TOM LEHRER, SONGS
Dixie, Dope, Harvard, Be Prepared and others **4.98**

666. TOM LEHRER
Poisoning the Pigeons, The Bomb and Masochism **4.98**

834. BEYOND THE FRINGE
The Great British Foursome **5.95**

843. SHAKESPEARE: SOUL OF AN AGE
M. Redgrave, cast—w/booklet **7.50**

871. END THE CIGARETTE HABIT—
Self-hypnosis **5.95**

WAXING VERBAL (New Republic)
1244—19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036 TNR 328

Please send the records whose numbers I have circled below.
5, 11, 22, 24, 35, 39, 168, 272, 274, 666, 834, 843, 871

I enclose $_____ plus 25¢ postage and handling.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip Code_____

sense of decency, their sense of what is right and wrong. He has become the greatest hope urban America now possesses. Luckily for the rest of us still involved in the struggle, the wise citizens of New York chose to re-elect him. I don't envy his task. Not only must he govern a city fifty-five times the size of my own New Haven, but he must also carry out his responsibilities to exert national leadership.

As we enter the decade of the seventies, we are all depending on men like John Lindsay.

William B. Ober: Private Musical Statement

Beethoven: The Last Decade, 1817-1827 by Martin Cooper

(Oxford University Press; $12.75)

Does Beethoven, already the victim of over three score biographies, require yet another, even though 1970 marks the bicentenary of his birth? No important new information has been discovered; Thayer's *Life of Beethoven* (also published by OUP) gives all the facts, even down to the laundry lists. Yet each generation reads (or hears) past geniuses to suit its own aesthetic needs. We rightly distrust Schindler's hero-worship, Rolland's latter-day romanticism, the Sterbas' psychoanalytic approach. And who today could write without blushing of Beethoven as "the man who freed music"? Martin Cooper's insights into Beethoven's famous "third period" form a valuable mid-20th century reappraisal.

Cooper's preliminary biographical material includes a balanced, well-documented account of the law suit for the custody of Beethoven's nephew Karl, and Beethoven's emotional concern with the boy's education, health, and progress. Upon this external circumstance, trivial though some of its details are, hinged the fluctuations in Beethoven's emotional state, and upon them the shape and content of his music. Other points in Cooper's delineation are decisive: Beethoven, a self-educated man and a product of the Enlightenment, accepted benevolent despotism and distrusted the egalitarian notions of republicanism; he was deeply religious in a personal, subjective sense, and indifferent or hostile to many positions taken by the Roman Catholic Church (his church); he was *not* a self-conscious romantic, and the musical innovations of his last decade were a natural development ("what is new and original appears of its own accord"); and "apart from his music [he] always preserved much of the naive feeling and conventionality of thought and expression of the semi-educated" (we are treated again to Beethoven's own statement, "Everything I do apart from music is badly done and stupid"). But Cooper's intention is not pejorative; he treats us also to Beethoven's merciless attitude toward false pieties: ". . . when Moscheles wrote 'FINIS – with God's help' at the end of a score . . . Beethoven scrawled, 'Man, help thyself' across the page."

The middle section of the book is a detailed analysis of the major works of the last decade, chiefly the 'cello sonatas, Op. 102, the last five pianoforte sonatas and the Diabelli Variations, the Missa Solemnis, the Ninth Symphony, the last five quartets and the Grosse Fuge. The technical analysis is basically sound, albeit flawed by a few missteps, and the chapter on the characteristics of the late style should be required reading for all critics. Cooper draws a neat parallel between Beethoven's rhetoric (a metaphor) and the classical tradition of public persuasian by words from Demosthenes and Cicero down to Milton, Pope, Racine, and Edmund Burke. Claiming that "the rhetorical element in Greek and Latin literature . . . is most alien to modern ways of thinking," he concludes that the fundamental didacticism "is thought by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many today to contradict the nature of art as such, to constitute a wholly unwarrantable intrusion of the conceptual thinking proper to public debate into the instinctive, private world of aesthetic experience. Perhaps this reaction against what seems . . . a confusion of the moral and the aesthetic . . . lies at the root of the decay of classical studies at the present time." Using this as a scalpel, he then dissects the public persuasion implicit in works of the dimension of the Missa Solemnis and the Ninth Symphony, separating it from the *private* nature of the last sonatas and last quartets in which the "late style" is most fully realized. Avoiding J. W. N. Sullivan's trap, Cooper does not relate Beethoven's late style to his spiritual development, that nebulous nimbus laid upon his head by the generation just buried.

However illuminating or interpretive an intellectual biography may be, it must be founded on fact, or at least fact as the writer evaluates documentary evidence (which does not always speak for itself). By starting with Beethoven in 1817, a man of forty-seven, already deaf, his career as a public virtuoso past, Cooper is able to dispense with the visual formalities of birth, education, rise in the world, influential friends; such paraphernalia are introduced briefly as they illuminate specific points. Cooper disposes quickly and quietly of the nonsense that Beethoven was an alcoholic, had syphilis, or was a latent homosexual with a mother fixation. Astutely he has persuaded Dr. Edward Larkin, a London neurologist, to provide an appendix on Beethoven's medical problems, a subject of much past controversy. Larkin tries to unify all the symptoms (deafness, colic and diarrhea, inflammatory catarrhs and rheumatic seizures, the hepatitis of 1821, the terminal liver cirrhosis of 1825-27) into a single nosologic entity, an autoimmune disease involving connective tissue. The prominent erythematous, disfiguring facial lesions suggest to Larkin that systemic lupus is a strong possibility. As a diagnostic hypothesis, this fits the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle into a plausible frame, but it is a speculative diagnosis which cannot be affirmed nor, once made, rebutted. The alternative is that Beethoven suffered from a variety of unrelated diseases.

Like the rest of the book, Larkin's presentation is "on balance" balanced; therein lies the strength of and justification for Cooper's approach as well.

Television

Pap from a Different Spoon?

The only great new hope for our too comfortably commercial communications systems – and we may have blown our chance already – is cable television. How can we keep CATV from following the fattest dollar?

One possible solution would be public ownership of some kind, such as most other countries exercise. This could be local, state, or federal ownership, or some combination. It would not necessarily disturb the fat and happy status of commercial broadcasters. It could be financed by taxes, user fees, advertising, or some combination.

The advantages of public ownership would include possible major emphases on education and culture, with great savings in time and money spent on education.

Disadvantages would include possible governmental bias in news and information. (Many European networks are quite successful at insulating broadcast news from politics, but some are not – and we have no such tradition.)

Our governmental bodies have not been noticeably inclined toward culture, and CATV will not change that. They have not been generous in their support of ETV, and have exerted gross pressure on ETV.

Businessmen do have an investment in stations, networks, and cable systems which might be injured by the competition. Unearned as their profits may be, they would have to be compensated in some way.

Commercial programs are more expensive than they need to be, but ETV programs are cheaper than they can afford to be. European television experience also shows that programming costs rapidly outrun possible user fees, once color or multiple channels are introduced. This invariably means commercials, but there is no reason to allow the commercial to take over the entire medium.

More likely – but not probable – is

The hitherto unexplored dimension of the "Oppenheimer Case"

THE Great Weapons Heresy

by THOMAS W. WILSON, JR.

Why was one of the nation's most eminent scientists driven from public service? The issues that made a heretic of Robert Oppenheimer lie directly behind the current debate on ABMs and MIRVs and are essential to an understanding of the SALT talks.

"May provoke much argument, especially in Washington circles. . . . Wilson recognizes the multiplicity of factors that compounded the complexity of the Oppenheimer case and he skillfully analyzes them in what must stand as the most lucid book on this subject. . . . Heresies in the past have taught us lessons that meant progress. What we can learn from Wilson's book is that limits can and must be placed on armaments."
– Ralph E. Lapp, *Life*

$5.95 at your bookstore, or
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
2 Park St., Boston, Massachusetts 02107

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stronger public control over commercial ownership. In some locales, one might find a cable system jointly owned by a public agency and a private entrepreneur. One example of such an arrangement is station WMSB, which is run by Michigan State University during the day and, as WILX, by a commercial organization at night.

The advantages of private ownership include less public expense and faster construction – at least in the more lucrative markets. It also puts a theoretical bar between government and the news.

The great disadvantage – and one which I fearlessly forecast without hope of contradiction – is that we shall merely be fed our pap from a different spoon. Unless the public moves now to back carefully planned standards, we will simply get better reception for Hee Haw and Batman reruns.

Utilizing what may be learned from the sad history of the FCC and from the more successful foreign networks, however, we should be able to make some slight improvements in programming and service. A big carrot and a bigger stick will be necessary. The carrot may be an FCC license and some tax advantages for real service. If ads are held to a reasonable level, commercial stations will not suffer undue pain (some pain is overdue) by allowing CATV to enter most markets with full rights to advertising and full obligation to originate programming.

The tax advantages, or rental fees, should come from making channels available to schools, for political debates, non-sponsored cultural events, and so on. Operators should be required to sell time to any interested party, but should be protected against liability for slander.

There should be two definite legal requirements for licensing which are not now explicit. First, no one should hold a license who owns another medium of communication in the same market. Otherwise, one would simply hear the same news and views over one more medium.

Second, a minimum news staff should be required. It is difficult to see how a meaningful news program can be put together with less than five full time reporters and photographers. In metropolitan areas, the staff should be at least 20; in our six largest urban areas (where 50 percent of our people live), 100 men are required.

Metropolitan CATV stations should be allowed to take some programming from the networks, but probably no more than 50 percent of prime time unless unusual circumstances warrant more. Another 25 percent might come from exchanges with a CATV network, but at least 25 percent should originate in the community. This is not an impossible demand, since it would mean that of 12 channels which might be in regular use at prime time, six could carry network shows as long as three carried CATV programs and three carried local programs or events.

If CATV systems are allowed to affiliate with networks and share in their revenues, no other advertising may be necessary. If the owners do show a need for ad money to support their own programming and their services to schools, etc., I propose that the amount of time be limited to something like three or four minutes an hour. These ads should follow the European plan; that is, no product sponsors a program and no commercials occur within programs. Ads are grouped in segments ranging from four minutes to half an hour, and are shown between programs.

Another source of service and revenue (the ideal marriage!) would be the replacement of present educational stations in many areas by a channel on the cable. This would not be completely feasible, for these stations sometimes cover broad areas too sparsely populated for cable service.

CATV operators should be required to give about 50 percent of their total time to news, education, and culture. Prime time and non-prime time would be considered separately. Again, this should pose little difficulty because of the many channels available to the system. One would be hard-pressed to fill a 12 or 22 channel cable with garbage, though with determination it will be done!

One of the most difficult problems is to determine what would pass as education, news and culture. I see at least four possibilities:

1. Some channels may be given to educational agencies, and all their programs given the benefit of the doubt.

2. Some programs or series should originate with national groups, such as National Educational Television or the National Foundation for the Performing Arts. These should be subsidized by the federal government. The agencies involved could certify their own

THE REAL McCOY!
Our "onboard" one-suiter is strictly the real thing in time-saving carry-on luggage.
It's crafted of Seal-grained black Calfskin, double belted with chrome snap
fittings and fine lock. Inside: moire-lined divided compartments.
Outside: full-length document pocket. 18x13x4", it expands to
twice its girth and fits easily under your airplane seat. Why settle for less?
Do as Hatfield did and go for the real McCoy!
☐ Send me the "McCoy" One-Suiter, $60
☐ Matching Briefcase (fits "McCoy's" side pocket) $20
☐ Both "McCoy" and Matching Envelope Briefcase, $72 (a saving of $8).
☐ Please apply the following chrome initials: _____ $3.
Add $1 for post. & ins. (Calif. resid. add 5%). Return in 2 wks. if not delighted.
NAME
ADDRESS
ZIP
Mail to: 584 Washington Street, San Francisco, California 94111
haverhill's
TNR0328

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or outside programs as meeting the standards for cultural broadcasting.

3. Local committees on the arts could certify a certain percentage of cultural programming. Guidelines for recognition of minority groups, etc., would have to be laid down by the FCC.

4. Finally, any concerned group should be allowed to take a challenge to the FCC. The license renewal process should be taken seriously, though not capriciously, and this means that the FCC must be strengthened legally and financially.

All these suggestions put together will not bring Elysium, or even Nirvana. But it is difficult to see how they could fail to make some improvement. The difficulty is that vested commercial interests are already moving in to see that we get the same caricature of broadcasting which befuddles our minds today.

And nobody gives a damn!

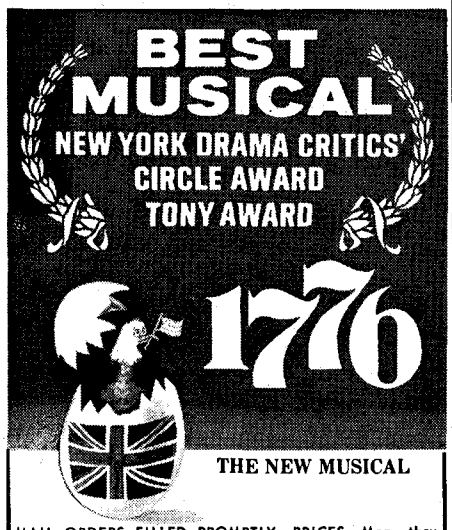
Robert L. Bishop

Conjecturism
is the modern approach to art

"THERE ISN'T ANYTHING YOU CAN'T GET TOO MUCH OF"

The old theory about Art being immortal has always been absurd. Our Moon-Landing has merely made that fact more obvious. Write for a free leaflet about the resulting revolution, and how CONJECTURISM opens up exciting new areas of thought for everybody who is interested in creating or understanding Art.

Stuart Publications, Dept. —
330 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02116



MAIL ORDERS FILLED PROMPTLY, PRICES: Mon. thru Thurs. Evgs.: Orch. $12.; Mezz. $9.; Balc. $7, 5.; Fri. & Sat. Evgs.: Orch. $15., 12.; Mezz. $10.; Balc. $8., 6.; Mats. Wed. & Sat.: Orch. $8.; Mezz. $7.; Balc. $6., 5. Please enclose stamped, self-addressed envelope with mail order and suggest alternate dates.
46th STREET THEATRE, 226 W. 46 St., N.Y. 10036

Replies to Alexander M. Bickel (III)

The Debate over School Desegregation

Professor Bickel's thesis is simply put: Since efforts to integrate the schools in the urban North are bound to be difficult, if not impossible, and at any rate they raise serious doubts from the "vanguard" of black activists, why should federal policy impose total desegregation on the rural South. The cost of such an unequal approach, he suggests, is that the rural South will feel "victimized," thus "fueling the politics of George Wallace." This argument might well stand as support for recent congressional actions calling for a uniform national desegregation policy, for in the end those actions too will result, as they are intended, in a weakened federal effort in the South. Unfortunately, Professor Bickel demonstrates a total lack of understanding of the political significance of the drive against school segregation in the South or an implicitly racist disregard of the just demands of blacks in the South – or both. These realities and concerns for justice offer reason enough for an "unequal" application of school desegregation policy.

We submit that the political branches of the federal government must direct their limited civil rights resources to establishing the preconditions for the political self-realization of black communities and black people. Legitimate civil rights strategies are those which stimulate the processes of black political growth while recognizing that black communities must themselves define the nature, scope and limits of black political purposes and aspirations. Any other approach ignores the political powerlessness which is both symptom and cause of American racism. Inevitably, it is bound to be paternalistic in its approach and piecemeal in its application. By such a standard, a school desegregation policy which concentrates its efforts on the rural South or which operates with stronger effect in the South is manifestly proper. School desegregation is a necessary civil rights priority for the rural South, even in those districts where real tipping points exist and the threat of "resegregation" is not merely segregationist rhetoric. Black persons in the South have historically been defined as apolitical beings. It is the rudimentary nature of the nonrecognition of blacks as participants in the political process that has led SCLC to use slogans such as, "I am a man." The whites have established an elaborate mythology and selective perception set to reinforce this desperately held truth. They have refused even to acknowledge political activity by indigenous blacks, preferring instead to blame its existence on "outside agitators."

History has determined that segregation in the schools is the most consuming public issue in the South today, for blacks and whites alike. Not surprisingly, it has been primarily in the drive to desegregate the schools that black political development has taken place. This does not necessarily mean, as Bickel hints, that Southern blacks have less racial consciousness than their Northern brothers, or that they have less desire for a voice in running their schools. It is not true that "integration" as a political goal is inconsistent with either racial pride or community control. Rather, both goals are being achieved in the midst of the struggle for desegregation. For example, parent groups have gone to court to insure that desegregation plans require whites to attend black schools in black neighborhoods; that schools named after black leaders retain their names after they are integrated; and that pictures of black leaders or trophies won by black teams remain on display in the integrated schools. If blacks in the North want a curriculum which heightens black consciousness, can Southern blacks be faulted for seeking that both black and white children gain a respect for black history and black culture?

Community control in the North means expelling white interlopers from positions of power in essentially all-black neighborhoods, so that blacks may control their own contiguous communities. In the Deep South, blacks are much less ghettoized, and community control of the schools means control

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

over all the schools. The political significance of the struggle being waged is vividly revealed by those groups of black parents who have offered to trade a postponement of desegregation for the appointment of one or more black members to the local school boards. The whites have refused. Political control is at stake and both sides know it.

In this framework, a school desegregation suit is perceived by both communities as the first political act of the black community. School suits are defined by both whites and blacks as a black declaration of independence (or more appropriately – "war"). Blacks know that no public issue so upsets "the man" as school integration, and this is precisely why such litigation is viewed with favor in the black community. Eldridge Cleaver stated it simply: "We must support what the enemy opposes and oppose what the enemy supports." Blacks in the South, too, understand the way in which one gains identity by saying "No!" This cultural-political dimension to school litigation is reflected in a terse comment of a person in a strong Movement county about a backward neighboring county: "They haven't even started their school suit yet."

School desegregation litigation often serves as the vehicle for broader based community organizing efforts. Attendance at court hearings provides a good rallying event: Watching community witnesses testify and command the attention of the court and the white community gives status and credence to black leaders. Watching school officials, who have historically ignored the black community, squirm under cross-examination is both gratifying to those who have borne the indignity of being ignored and enormously helpful in the process of demythification of the white establishment.

Parent groups exercize the policing function when patterns of noncompliance develop, raising their complaints through their own leaders before the school board or if this fails in the courts. It is of more than ordinary importance that recent court orders have compelled the formation of biracial citizens committees to help the courts devise the most desirable and workable desegregation plan. The courts have thus created new forums for the expression of the black community's will, where the white community must sit down to bargain with black leaders and where the blacks deal for the first time from a position of strength.

The struggle is often carried beyond the courts to more obvious political fronts. In West Point, the community's response to an order of the court allowing two black schools to be closed as part of the process of desegregation was a boycott of downtown stores and a series of mass meetings. In Starkville, partially in response to the school suit, the largest meeting of black persons in the history of the county was held, followed by a march of black persons numbering some 400 strong. In Hollandale and other communities, interest in the schools generated by school litigation has resulted for the first time in black candidates running for the board of education.

The desegregation effort has also provided an impetus and starting point for consideration of a broader spectrum of school issues. Middle-class black teachers, who had historically avoided any substantial involvement in the affairs of their community, now are looking for support from the poorer elements of their community. They are helping to revitalize long defunct parent-teacher associations, which are in turn raising important issues concerning both staffing and curriculum in the schools. Numerous parent groups have made searching inquiries into the use of federal monies in their school system, particularly Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and in some cases have worked closely with both private and government investigators to uncover major examples of the misuse of such funds. Students groups have begun to assert their own role in the running of the schools. In almost every instance, these efforts have come after the initial battle over desegregation has brought the black community together and mobilized its attention and resources for the larger questions.

Unfortunately, not every school desegregation effort is carried on with an eye toward the aspirations or involvement of the black community. HEW's efforts take place in Washington, far removed from the people and schools involved. Last year when Secretary Finch announced that he would not cut off funds for five Southern school districts previously ruled out of compliance, it was several weeks before the parents of one of those districts, South Panola, found out what plans had been accepted by HEW. When they did, they discovered that HEW had allowed the closure of all-black Patton Lane High School, even though it is the best facility in the system.

The Justice Department states unequivocably that as a legal matter under Title IV it does not represent black children or black parents. In Mississippi during recent months Justice has refused to appeal issues such

Overthrow
your mind.
Read.

This new magazine from Random House is a new kind of challenge—to your mind, your sensibilities, and even to the way you live your life. Issue after issue will deal with all those aspects of Western culture, past and present, which pertain to the one great continuing struggle in the world today—the self-determination of the black American.

RANDOM HOUSE
$1.95

Like it was, like it is, like it ought to be.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as racially motivated sex separation or ability testing despite pleas from parents to do so and despite a clear ruling from the Fifth Circuit in similar cases. It has failed to raise in court issues of major concern to particular communities, such as the firing of the only black principal or the storing of black trophies, solely because the issue does not rise to the required level of federal significance. And it has ignored pleas of many black communities to meet with them to explain the plans which are being developed in the courts. Of roughly twenty-two cases brought by the Justice Department in the Northern District of Mississippi, relief based on the recent Supreme Court decisions in *Alexander* and *Carter* has been sought in only three. And in those the Department had little choice because the higher courts had mandated such relief.

Parent groups in both the Northern and Southern Districts of Mississippi have tried to remedy this situation by retaining private counsel to intervene on their behalf in more than seven Justice Department suits. Black parents desperately want and deserve a voice in the process by which desegregation is achieved. They will no longer remain passive observers, while the government toys with the lives of their children.

Although Professor Bickel does not understand the political meaning of school desegregation, his error is far more fundamental. He pretends to consider the anti-integration statements of black activists, where it suits his purpose, but he completely ignors the feeling of black people in the South, where it does not. The white man giveth, and the white man taketh away.

It is clear from his discussion of "tipping" and his example from Canton, Mississippi, that Professor Bickel sees the mixture of black and white children in school classrooms as the summum bonum. While this may be what he sees as the ultimate good, it has little to do with the views of black parents. As counsel for black parents in school litigation, we have rarely heard black parents express as part of their motivation that their children attend school with whites. To respond in kind to Professor Bickel who used the example of Canton, Mississippi as a district in which "tipping" might take place, thus divesting the black children of their supposed desire to be educated with white children, the comments of Mrs. Flonzie Goodloe, a black political leader of Canton, are appropriate: "We don't care about equality in the classroom. I feel sorry for those white kids going to that little barn [the white private school]. They're in a big dump."

To the extent that whites do remain in the system despite overbearing percentages of black children, the benefit perceived by the black community is not that they can be schooled with the white children, but that the presence of white children in the schools which they attend will insure that a racist school board will take greater pains to provide a quality education which will of necessity accrue to the benefit of the black children. It is a *realpolitik* position born of years of exposure to how the "man's game" works. It has been born out by recent events in places such as Oxford, where during January the school board spent two weeks preparing the formerly black school building for the enrollment of white students. Repairs refused black children for years were suddenly deemed essential. A secondary, and surely more distant, by-product may be the long awaited alliance between blacks and poor whites, left behind by their wealthier neighbors who have fled to private schools.

A constant recurring theme in discussing school litigation with black parents is that the drive to terminate the dual school system reflects in a very elementary way their feelings of what is just. They feel very simply that the segregated society in which they have grown up is immoral, that it has served as the institutionalization of their politically defined inferior status. At the gut level, they are concerned simply with destroying that system in toto and immediately. Last summer when the courts ordered fixed percentages of blacks to transfer to white schools, but made no such requirement of whites in the black schools, the black community rebelled. Massive student boycotts were called in many of those districts, forcing the courts to modify their orders. The Hollandale School District is historically 85% black. In the advent of total desegregation this spring, it appeared that no white children would remain in the system. The community was faced with a choice of voluntarily postponing desegregation for another school term and insuring that some white children would remain in the system or insisting on immediate desegregation of all the schools with the understanding that probably most of the white children would leave. The discussion in the mass meeting reflected no substantial concerns about which strategy would lead to keeping whites in the system. The dispositive desire in the eyes of the black community was that through immediate integration they could have their children in grades 9-12 schooled at the historically white high school. There was a very deep sense reflected in the comments of many of the speakers that the most important issue was that black persons had historically been denied the rights to use all the schools on an equal basis and that the "capture" of the white high school as a facility in which black could feel welcomed was the most important goal.

We believe that these considerations are justification enough for a continued effort behind desegregation in the South. In the North, the situation is simply not the same, or so it appears from here. There, the struggle for black political power is not being fought in the context of school desegregation, simply because history has framed the issues differently. In the urban North, "the man" is not the school board; he is the police, the landlord, or the welfare worker. As a priority, federal civil rights policy should justifiably concentrate on supporting community efforts aimed at dealing with these problems. For instance, massive legal attack on police brutality, using remedies which presently exist on the books but which are rarely enforced, should be pursued. This, of course, assumes that the self-expressed needs and desires of black

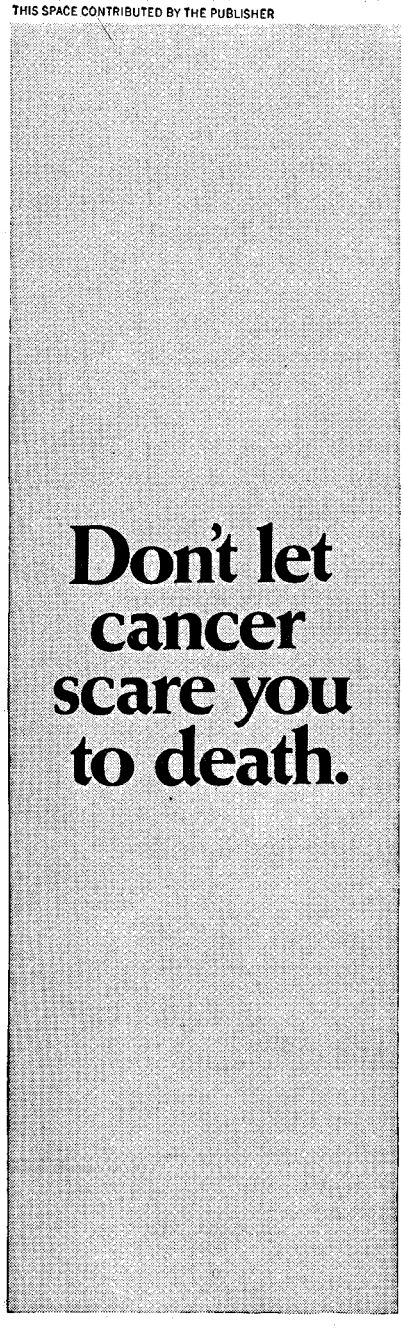
---

Notes on Contributors

Richard C. Lee *recently stepped down as Mayor of New Haven after sixteen years.* John Kenneth Galbraith's *most recent book is* Ambassador's Journal (Houghton Mifflin). Dr. William Ober, *a New York pathologist and music critic, is the author of a number of biographical sketches of doctors who have also been writers and musicians.* Robert L. Bishop *is assistant professor of journalism at the University of Michigan. The most recent book by* Howard Nemerov, *of Washington University, is* The Blue Swallows. Peter Meinke *is associate professor of literature at Florida Presbyterian College.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS SPACE CONTRIBUTED BY THE PUBLISHER



If there's one thing we must make you aware of it's this:

When discovered early, most cancers are curable. 1,500,000 Americans who are cured of cancer are proof.

No one on record, however, has ever been cured of cancer by worrying about it.

If you suspect you have cancer, do the smart thing; make an appointment with your doctor.

American Cancer Society®
Fight cancer with a checkup and a check.

people everywhere should define federal civil rights policy and not the feared reaction of George Wallace's followers.

Michael B. Trister
P. Kent Spriggs

MICHAEL B. TRISTER *and* P. KENT SPRIGGS *have in the past year been Counsel in school cases in some 23 Mississippi school districts.*

Correspondence

Arrogance of Power

Sirs:

Remarkably little space has been given to our government's apology to Cambodia for air strikes last November and for which the US has paid $11,400 in reparations. The original incident itself, moreover, received virtually no prior coverage in the American press.

I inspected the site in December, not long after the occurrence. The attacks destroyed the small military post and associated tiny village at Dak Dam, 4.3 miles from the border and 6.2 miles from the US military post at Bu Prang in South Vietnam. The border here is well defined by the Dak Hoyt River; the surrounding country is open prairie land. The post itself had an enormous "CAMBODIA" painted on the roof of its largest structure.

Prior to the devastating bomb, rocket, and napalm attacks of November 16 to 19 (all during daylight hours), Dak Dam had been lightly and sporadically attacked by the US. As a result of these earlier attacks (which wounded a teacher and two young girls), the civilian population was evacuated, thereby avoiding far higher casualties during the major attacks in which 25 were killed and another half-dozen seriously wounded.

Our government claims to have attacked a Vietcong position. Yet none of the casualties was Vietnamese. My interviews with the president of the International Commission for Supervision and Control for Cambodia (who together with a US military attaché visited Dak Dam on November 22) and with the governor of the province, the military commander of the region, other high Cambodian military and civilian officials, and the US Chargé d'Affaires in Phnom Penh, revealed that no on-site evidence for the presence of Vietcong could be uncovered. Nor could the US produce any photographic (or other) evidence despite long-continued daily reconnaissance over-flights (including when I was there).

The Cambodian artillery that was destroyed at Dak Dam (a battery of three 37-mm antiaircraft guns standing out in the open) for allegedly firing on the US post across the border does not have a range sufficient to reach that far. When this was discovered, the US then claimed that the artillery fire came only from the "direction" of Dak Dam. But there were no bomb craters or other evidence to be found that such positions had in fact been attacked or that they even had existed.

Our note of apology calls upon the Cambodian government to prevent the use of its territory by the Vietcong. Cambodia shares a wilderness border with South Vietnam (and Laos) extending for some 1000 miles. It maintains an ill-equipped army of only 36,000, which must concern itself not only with this border, but also with the Thai border and various internal affairs. If the US command in Saigon, with perhaps 1½ million well-equipped soldiers at its disposal, cannot seal off this border, how then can the Cambodian army be expected to do so?

The attack on Dak Dam did not involve hot pursuit (a contestable right in any event) nor even "cold" pursuit of the Vietcong. It seems rather to have been a punitive or retaliatory measure following the destruction of a US helicopter last October 24 and particularly of a US F-105 on November 14, both shot down in the course of attacking Dak Dam in casual and callous disregard of Cambodian neutrality. The whole incident was a particularly vicious one because not only were the Cambodian antiaircraft battery and military post destroyed, but also the nearby village, including livestock, five civilian houses, a school, and even a hospital clearly marked with a giant red cross on its roof (a pitiful sight with its meager medical equipment and supplies lying scattered and ruined on the ground). A well-marked ambulance driving toward Dak Dam in order to retrieve wounded was also destroyed. The only explanation the US Chargé could offer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

me in regard to the destroyed hospital and ambulance was that "our pilots must have lost their cool."

I wonder whether our announced indemnity payment really is sufficient to erase this further example of our "arrogance of power" in southeast Asia.

Arthur H. Westing
American Association for the Advancement of Science

Citizen-Politics

Sirs:

Jonathan's Yardley's review (*NR*, Feb. 28) of *Natural Enemies???: Youth and the Clash of Generations* unknowingly slighted an ongoing, developing nationtionwide citizen-politics movement outlined in the introduction, hitherto only privately discussed, but now being explored in a series of continuing radio and TV panels by a broad spectrum of radicals, youth, blacks, labor, and liberals and some moderates from both parties – appropriately thrashing out the organizational forms and issue-agreements not in secrecy, but in public, with citizen participation.

The aim is to create a new, locally based but national, *non*-party citizen-organization which would: (1) bring liberals, radicals, labor and some moderates into constructive partnership, also winning back disenchanted youth and blacks to the democratic process, not just for one-shot electioneering but on a permanent, continuing and greatly expanded and intensified basis; (2) combine electoral methods with *non*-violent activism (civil rights, union, protest and other tactics), making liberalism and the electoral system more dynamic, activism more responsible and less counter productive and both in combination far more effective; (3) speed reform of the party system by pressure and *potential* "instant-party" threat from without, *and* by legitimate action within the major parties – as members thereof – on a scale dwarfing relatively minimal efforts to-date; (4) via a new, pervasive multiple-form organization (geographical, on the job, in unions, churches and other existing associations) and a reciprocally fostering coordinating relationship with those associations, plus a realistic "mix" of methods, to seek and win unprecedentedly wide citizen participation, with particular emphasis on local leadership and on youth, students, women in permanent nonelitist citizen task-forces regularly active on key issues; (5) link social with political action on a massive scale commensurate with the perilousness and massiveness and complexity of the problems; (6) apply people-to-people as well as media, pervasive persuasion-educational dialogue approaches – already pilot-tested in part – to create common cause with considerable portions of so-called "Middle-Americans," something party politics alone is unlikely to achieve.

As in 1776, citizen-action (in new forms and on a scale not hitherto attempted) is essential today, this time to *avert* civil strife and stave off repression, to effect *peaceful* basic reform and re-orientation of our whole society toward an extension of democracy, and a responsive allocation of resource priorities. To expect this to evolve via present structures *alone* in time to save us is fatal naivete; to expect it via apocalyptic "revolution" is tragic fantasy. Rather, major new auxiliary structures and institutions (enhancing the existing ones), new channels for widespread, pragmatic, sustained sociopolitical action must be created step-by-step. The outline of this participatory citizen-politics may be found in the introduction to *Natural Enemies???*

Alexander Klein
New York, N.Y.

Misunderstood Apology

Sirs:

I yield to no man in my respect and admiration for that excellent observer and journalist John Osborne, author of *The Agnew Effect* in your February 28 edition. But I feel he understandably misunderstood my apology to Vice President Agnew at the end of *Face the Nation.*

The apology refers only to, and can be understood only in the context of, my remark at the end of my preceding question that we had only ten seconds left on the air. His reply "I couldn't answer that . . ." was all I heard when I began my apology, four seconds having elapsed. He went on, partially over my voice, to say "that is a decision for the President." I thought he meant he couldn't answer in ten seconds.

I make no apology for apologizing then, or in several other broadcasts, for putting a guest on the spot with very little time left. I had expected a "yes or no" answer. I consider leaving a guest with egg on his face, and a tough question insufficiently answered when the time runs out, unfair and improper, and I shall continue to apologize for it when it happens by miscalculation or mischance. That, and that alone, was what I was apologizing for on this and several preceding broadcasts.

George E. Herman
CBS News

Consumer Complaints

Sirs:

Three points of information were left out of David Sanford's article, "Nothing Works Anymore" (Feb. 14), which might result in a different perspective.

Mr. Sanford is quite right when he says that the old letter-writing policy was "horrendous," and amounted to the "runaround." What the author leaves out is that this policy was inherited from the previous Administration. I think it is a point in our favor that we changed that.

Secondly, he states that, under our new system, we are making only two phone calls a day to a business on behalf of a consumer. Accurate. But we are also mailing out between 50 to 100 letters a day to a business on behalf of an individual consumer.

Last, Mr. Sanford says that our suc-

ATTACH LABEL HERE

CHANGING ADDRESS?
Send back old and new addresses to
Subscription Department
The New Republic
381 West Center St., Marion, Ohio
Allow four weeks
for change to become effective

New Address

Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State .....Zip .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENTARY
World's Best Magazine?
SEE FOR YOURSELF...
☐ 6 Mos. Trial $5.50
☐ 12 Mos. $10.00
COMMENTARY N-6
165 East 56 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10022
☐ Bill me ☐ Check enclosed
Name
Address
Zip Outside U.S.A. + $1.50
No charge – or full money back – if you decide Commentary is not for you

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER
Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 120 W. 31 St., New York, N.Y.

"BACK IN 1965 (*when the crusade du jour was for civil rights or something like that*), Senator Muskie brought pressure to bear on the Maine legislature to downgrade the Prestile River. Where formerly the river was classified suitable for swimming and fishing, after Muskie's efforts it was perfectly legal to pollute it. The downgrading was needed, Muskie said, to attract a beet sugar refinery to depressed Aroostook County."
For a free copy of NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. D, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016.

authors of books
Manuscripts invited for publication. All subjects. Fiction, non-fiction, poetry. New authors are welcome. For complete information, send for free booklet, A-2.
DORRANCE & COMPANY
1809 Callowhill, Phila., Pa. 19130
to be published by Dorrance

I REQUIRE . . .
a "dating service" that
☐ has outgrown pop prattle about the "swinging scene" (ages 21 to 65)
☐ has the enlightened versatility to match flower children and Wall Street tycoons (although only sometimes with each other)
☐ has penetrated bigtown anonymity to dare deal only with its more cultivated, intelligent, literary community (48% through personal referrals)
☐ offers exclusive, expensive, exhaustive, individual processing by trained consultants
☐ A LOOK AT YOUR OUTSTANDING QUESTIONNAIRE
MIND MATES
Bureau for Interpersonal Relations
1 East 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 10017
MU 2-3757

cess file only has about 100 letters in it. True, but with rare exception, all these letters have come in since January 1, the date we implemented direct contact with business. And some businesses, as a result of Mrs. Knauer's communications, have changed their complaint-handling systems so they have become more responsive to the consumer.

Joe Dawson
President's Committee on Consumer Interests

A Dissent

Sirs:

If there is one thing the Liberal cause doesn't need it is such gutless punks as yourself, Bickel, Osborne, Kalven and the rest of your crypto-Fascist ilk. On behalf of the Chicago Eight and the rest of the true Liberals may I extend sincere wishes for an Eternity in Hell, which would still be a lot better than you deserve.

V. J. Dougherty
Hannibal, Ohio

Kauffmann, *from page 16*

era is rolling and moving. (The final sound-track is added later, usually with the actors who have played the roles.) This gives him the chance to keep some sequences running more than ten minutes and, although he has rehearsed them before he shoots, enables him to "conduct" the actors, à la silent-film days – or just as a conductor leads musicians whom he has already rehearsed. These long sequences, without cuts and with the flow of the camera's movement, are, I think, Jancsó's effort to capture some of the long, relentless, and cyclical swell of history, thus reenforcing his theme with the look and feel of his film.

Theory is theory: and some excellent theories, excellently articulated – like Brecht's theory of epic theater – simply do not function as well as they read. But I am haunted by a feeling that Jancsó is on to something fascinating, imperfectly though he has accomplished it here: an attempt to record the subliminal: not with the by-now trite method of splattering in bits of non-sequential or non-"present" material, but by trying to capture a mystery beneath the surfaces of facts. A chief power of film has been its ability to make facts magical; Jancsó is trying to ignore that magic, is trying to catch the invisible *sum* of the facts, which is like the solid wheel that is made by spinning individual spokes. His inquiry is both thoroughly cinematic and quite revolutionary, but in a sophisticated and difficult way – much more daring than the Now editing that has been diluted by Now hacks out of Godard and Lester.

But, as noted, *Winter Wind* is unsatisfactory – possibly because it does not dare quite enough. A ballet is a ballet: we do not expect character dossiers or precise explications of this glide or that leap. But Jancsó has paused at a midpoint between veristic drama and nonprogrammatic ballet. A film on the *idea* of politics that, out of all history, specifies the Ustashi and then does not tell us why, has one foot in realism and the other in abstraction. Was Jancsó trying to say something about Hungary's dictatorial government of the time and its support of fascists? Was he trying to show us ironically that fascists are as pure in their revolutionary zeal as other zealots? These are only some of the foreground questions that he himself raises, then ignores as he concentrates on abstract matters of form and movement.

Charrier, in past films, has been an unremarkable good-looking young man. Here he manages more gravity than I would have expected but not quite enough broodiness and concealed fire. Marina Vlady suggests some sexual secrecies, as a woman assigned to the hideout. Zoltan Farkas, who has edited much of Jancsó's past work, is again his editor here, but, outside of possible help on planning the shape of sequences, could not have had much to do. The wide-screen color photography is by Janos Kende.

Winter Wind is the first in a festival of twelve foreign films being presented in New York by Grove Press. The matters I noted in *The Red and the White* – the constant shifts of power, the strings of footling commands – have now grown almost into *raisons d'être*, combined with longer and longer camera sweeps, and the result is in irritating, unsatisfactory picture, but it is by a unique and complex cinematic mind. I'm glad that I had a chance to see it, and I hope that earlier Jancsó films are en route.

Winter Wind, imperfect but ventur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ous, is stimulating; *Loving*, which chews more than it bites off, is not. It was directed by Irvin Kershner and is about a commercial artist who lives in Westport with his wife and two small daughters. He is having an affair with a girl in New York who wants him to get a divorce. (Yes, that story.) The girl unexpectedly turns up in Westport and attends a big party with artist and wife. He gets drunk in frenzied desperation and starts an amorous tussle with somebody's wife in a play-pen which is in front of a TV camera on his host's closed-circuit set. The rest of the party, including his own wife, watches his sexual antics. The last scene – a fuzzy fourteenth-carbon-copy of the last scene of *L'Avventura* – has his wife beating him with her handbag and then, apparently, accepting him for what he is. The trouble with the TV gimmick is that it is out of tune with the film's mundane detail; it sticks out as a clever climactic gag. The trouble with the final scene is that I don't believe it. That wife would have been utterly humiliated and would not have been able to go on living with her husband – certainly not in that community. (And there's no use arguing that it has happened in a place like Westport, if it has; I'm talking about the wife shown here.)

Like Kershner's earlier film *The Luck of Ginger Coffey*, this one has been overpraised simply because much of it is not false. Evidently there is still such an appetite for American films that are merely faithful to the facts of American life (which were rare indeed until fairly recently) that a film gets praised just for nuzzling damply along the profiles of naturalism.

Some have compared *Loving* with John Cheever's work, but the comparison seems to confuse milieu with matter. Cheever, with varying success, has always been interested in suburban life in terms of deep spiritual inquiry: his intent, achieved or not, has been to be the Dostoevsky of the 5:21 express. Don Devlin's screenplay of *Loving*, from a novel by J. M. Ryan, is satisfied with stenography in pursuit of facile compassion. What would a whole generation of mediocre playwrights, screenwriters, and TV scripters have done without Compassion and Human Loneliness to sanctify their mediocrity?

In the predictable roles of the husband and wife, George Segal and Eva Marie Saint are very pleasant. Their two little girls are knockouts.

Personals

DOWN-HOME COUNTRY FURNITURE . . . Imagination plus energy plus hard work equals massive CUSTOM-HAND-MADE furniture to last a lifetime. Designed—to blow the mind. Free information. Send needs to: Down-Home Furniture Company Store, 1733 Twentieth Street, N.W., #4, Washington, D.C. 20009, peace.

HAYNOWS SINNES OF WITCHCRAFT in Scotland, 1647 to 1662, recorded and notarized. Trial record of Issobell Gowdie, $1.00. Overflow Publications, Box 613, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 566N, Ojai, California 93023.

LEGAL, PLEASANT TURN-ON, South American herb. Brew like tea. Great with lovemaking. Hurry before legislation turns us off. Quarter pound $7.50. Kilos $50.00. M.O. or cash. Omnibus Ltd., P.O. Box 544, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

LONG INDIAN MONKS' ROBES. Men's, women's pink, purple, red, blue, green, orange, $13. Uriah Heep's, Chappaqua, N. Y. 10514.

HELP NAVAJO CHILDREN learn to read. Donate typewriters in good condition to experimental community school, Navajo Reservation, Dillon Platero, Rough Rock Demonstration School, Chinle, Arizona 86503.

12 EXPERIENCED YOUNG EDUCATORS wish to start a small sane high school. Need community or patron desiring same. Anywhere in U.S.A. or Canada. Box 4295, New Republic.

HEXAWAY—20 traceable designs $1.00. Hexaway, 3 Burke Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21212.

I.Q. TEST. Self-score. $1.00. Psychological Tests, Box 1343, Portland, Oregon.

MEET YOUR IDEAL MATE (computerized matching). All ages. Write: TEAM Project, 101 West 30th Street, Suite 531, NYC 10001.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PRINTING OFFICE. Eight plates from the Diderot Encyclopedia have been carefully reproduced in a large 11x17 portfolio format. $10. The Oliphant Press, 5th floor, 6 Varick Street, New York, New York 10013.

THE WIDER QUAKER FELLOWSHIP tries to reach out to individuals who are drawn to, but do not wish to join, the Religious Society of Friends. Over three thousand persons of various races and creeds in sixty-one countries are members. We invite correspondence with other such seekers. 152A N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY CAMPUS: unique lecture notes. Hundreds of courses, taken directly in class by professionals from world-famous teachers. $1-$4. Send for latest free catalog. FYBATE LECTURE NOTES, Dept. R, 2440 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, California 94704.

COLLECTORS: ORIGINAL PRESIDENT'S FLIP BADGES—J.F.K., Johnson, Nixon, Goldwater, Humphrey, $1.50; 4/$5.00. Mukamal, 61 Broadway, NYC 10006.

FUTURISTIC CURRICULUM CENTER seeks imaginative, entrepreneural sponsorship to underwrite/assist in developing and marketing comprehensive, transdisciplinary instructional materials stressing concepts of human/environmental integrity. New Republic Box #4520.

ZODIAC SEX POSITION POSTER (once banned in S.F.) only $2.50. State you are over 21. A Big-Little Store, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" covers all possibilities, all occupations, sixty countries. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Only $2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

BLACK-LIGHT BLOW-UP POSTER: 15" x 20". Send returned snapshot. $4.95. Lightrays, 713 K Pine, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

WORLD FUTURE SOCIETY, publisher of THE FUTURIST, is nonprofit, nonpartisan association devoted to serious study of possible future developments. For information, write: World Future Society, Box 19285-NR, Washington, D.C. 20036.

GEORGE BROWN, FIRST CONGRESSMAN to vote against Vietnam appropriations, now challenging California Senator George Murphy. All type contributions needed. Dept. NR, BROWN SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 1200 South Western, Los Angeles 90006.

JOHN & YOKO's EROTIC LITHOGRAPHS. Lennon's 14 lovemaking poses. $3.95. Carelton Co., 713 K Pine, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. For FREE analytical questionnaire write giving age. OPERATION MAZEL TOV, 663 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10022.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

"GUIDED MEDITATION," highly effective way to increase creative thought. 12" LP by Swami Sivananda Radha. $6.50. Ashram Records, North 2918 Stout, Spokane, Washington 92206.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS. The right of each adult to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law. The word human means exactly air breathing Homo sapiens. Write: AAAL, P.O.B 36122, Los Angeles, California 90036.

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHTING MANUAL! Make light-machines, strobes, organs, slides, etc. Send $2.00—Lightrays, 713K Pine, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKTHROUGH—Perfect prints, 8 or 12 exposure rolls $2: 20 exposure, $3. Full credit unprintable negatives. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $2 and film or write for free mailer. Mystic Color Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Connecticut 06355.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SENSATIONAL GRAPEFRUIT DIET. Complete. $1.00. Valmar, Box 705-N, Glen Alpine, North Carolina 28628.

HARPSICHORD. Same as owned by Philadelphia Orchestra and RCA Victor. In kit form for home workshop assembly $150. Clavichord kit, $100. Free brochure. Write: Zuckerman Harpsichords, Dept. P, 115 Christopher St., NYC 10014.

AN AUTHENTIC NEW VOICE interpreting traditional Anglo-American songs. ENNE'S 12" stereo, "Ballads, Blues & Ditties," $4.50 from Korbie Records, Box 80-A, Detroit 48232. Refund if disappointed.

NEED Address for THE POOR PEOPLES CORPORATION. Write: Greene, Ten Longfellow Park, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

SPONSOR a needy American Indian child enabling him to continue his schooling. Correspondence, visits, reports. $12.50 monthly. Brochure. *Future for Children*, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D.C. 20016.

NOW ACCEPTING MEMBERSHIPS. Request folder describing 20 services. National Writers Club, 745A Sherman Street, Denver, Colorado 80203.

UNITED NATIONS FLAG DECALS, 3x5—3/$1.00 C.D. ENTERPRISES, Box N28, Riverside, Connecticut 06878.

ZIP CODE DIRECTORIES. 576 pages, includes maps. Send $1.25 (postpaid) to Frank Bognet, Box 1291 Cardinal Station, Washington, D.C. 20017.

SINGLE?—See PHOTOS of 4-10 ideal mates to select before dating! Advanced matching systems assure compatibility! All ages. Entire U.S. Information and FREE questionnaire: YALE PHOTO-DATING® SERVICE, INC. P.O. Box 509, Dept. K, New York, N.Y. 10028.

ATHENA CENTER FOR CREATIVE LIVING. Health Program, Yoga, Psycho-drama, Seminars. April through November, 1970 in San Miguel de Allende, Mexico. Write: 2308 Smith Avenue, Aliquippa, Pennsylvania 15001.

WHOSE PERFUME? Yours should say the things you want to say. Request chart. PERFUMES, 102 Criquet Avenue, Ardmore, Pennsylvania 19003.

HARVARD *LAW REVIEW* editor and wife will care for home in District of Columbia by living there while family is away, June 15-August 1. New Republic Box #4510.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD, most underprivileged of all, has a special claim upon our compassion and support. A sponsorship, $12.50 monthly, helps him to continue his schooling and can make you his friend. Futures For Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D. C.

LIKE COLORFUL STATIONERY—imprinted with your name and address? Choose from many styles, sizes, rainbow colors. Send 25c (postage-handling) for big idea-packed sample assortment top quality social and professional items. Well received as gift. Jacques Stationery, Room 5-FN, 310 East 25th St., NY, NY 10010.

NAUTICALLY-NATURED GIFTS — From famous Mystic Seaport Stores. Send 25c for handsome 1970 catalog. Dept. B, Mysic, Connecticut 06355.

WRY IDEAS. Unusual catalog, 25c (deductible). Wry Idea Co., Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.

INACTIVITY BORED. Spain-living (and loving it) permaturely retired expatriate seeks exchange of mature correspondence with "also-boreds." Intrested? Write Reymond, Apartado 9046, Barcelona, Spain.

LOOK AROUND . . . Scientifically. A compatible match is more fun than a chance acquaintance. Com/Pair Systems, the "People-Matching People," provide a professional established service. Send for a free Questionnaire. $15 fee due when you return Questionnaire. Com/Pair Systems, Inc. NXR, 194 Nassau St., Princeton, New Jersey 08540.

BREATHE CLEAN AIR ANYWHERE! Pollution mask protects health, filters out smoke, particles, sulphur dioxide, other toxics. Lightweight. Wear occasionally or regularly, e.g., jogging. Finest available. Guaranteed. Adult's $15, Child's $12. FILTER-MASK, Box 3805, Chicago, Illinois 60654.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will forms and attorney's information book. $1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1850 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

OUTRAGEOUS THINGS BY MAIL. Catalog 25c. Durgin, Box N2065B, Hanover, Massachuetts 02339.

Peace Personals

WORLD PEACE requires ESPERANTO text, record loaned FREE. Esperanto Library, DEPTNR, Middleton, Wisconsin 53562.

OFFSET PRINTING FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT (candidates and organizations) at cost plus shipping charges. Write: PEACE NOW PRESS, Box 851, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

"STOP THE WAR NOW" Bumperstickers 25c each. 5/$1.00; "I AM AN EFFETE SNOB FOR PEACE" Button $1.00 each, 6/$5.00. *New Party of Florida*, 542 N. Miami Avenue, Miami, Florida 33136.

PEACE DOG TAGS—Metal, with dove and peace symbol. On chain. 6/$5.00 or $1.00 each. PEACE PRODUCTS, Box 81-N, Hempstead, N.Y. 11551. Money-back guarantee.

LET HUMANISM ease the pain of the gap between you and your environment. For free information about this constructive alternative to traditional religion and philosophy, write the American Humanist Association, Dept. NR-3, 125 El Camino del Mar, San Francisco, California 94121.

WANTED: information concerning indoctrinatory behavior or malpractice of sacrilegious lifer military chaplains. Confidential. Reverend Johnson, Box 792, Aurora, Colorado 80010.

PEACE NOW — Official March on Washington Materials — bumperstickers and buttons. 4 for $1.00; 50 for $10. Peace Now, 901 Kentucky, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

FACTS NEEDED ON CASES OF DRAFT being misused. Write: W. J. H., P.O.B. 351, College Park, Maryland 20740.

WOULD YOU HAVE PAID TAXES FOR AUSCHWITZ? Find out how to STOP paying for the atrociyt of Vietnam. Write NOW to: War Tax Resistance, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y. 10012.

EXCITING EUROPEAN PEACE SEMINAR seeing top government officials. July 16th-August 6th. Write: Jerome Davis, Friends House, Sandy Spring, Maryland.

EASY RIDER SHIRTS American Flag, MORATORIUM blue "V" hand sign, HARVARD STRIKE red fist-black letters, PEACE blue peace symbol. "T" shirts $2.50, SWEATSHIRTS $3.50. Sizes Sm 34/36, Med 38/40, Lg 42/44, XLG 46. Prepaid. KAY 4, Box 6-NR, Glencoe, Illinois 60022.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom-made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132. Phone (314) 423-5495.

POSTERS (over 250, many anti-war), BUTTONS (over 200), BUMPERSTICKERS, PEACE JEWELRY & EARRINGS. Wholesale & Retail. Free Catalogue. A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

"MY LAI" BUTTON, white letters on black. 4/$1, 25/$5, write: PEACE NOW, P.O.B. 851, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

IT'S A GASSER! SANE's chemical-biological warfare packet. Prepare for the upcoming Senate debate on Geneva Protocol banning CBW. 13 items, $1.00. Dept. A, SANE, 381 Park Avenue South, NYC 10016.

UP AGAINST THE WALL BUTTONMAKER! 10% discount to the Movement. All custom-made. Send $1.00 (refundable) for price list. LARRY FOX, Box 581-N, Hempstead, New York. (516) 825-7706.

SMALL HANDSOME PEACE SYMBOLS. Gold—Silver. pin $1.50; on delicate chain $2.50. Uriah Heep's, Chappaqua, New York 10514.

HOW MANY VIETNAMESE FOUGHT IN OUR CIVIL WAR? and VIETNAM—LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT. Bumperstickers, 5/$1.00. Buttons, 4/$1.00. Stamps, 66/$1.00. International McClelland, Dept. NR, 407 Maple, Beverly Hills 90210.

Literature

INDEPENDENT RADICAL NEWSWEEKLY — read the GUARDIAN. In-depth coverage and analysis of the Black Panthers, Young Lords, Women's Liberation, Spring Mobilization, GI organizing, the economy, Vietnam and Laos. Largest U.S. movement weekly. Special introductory ten-week subscription: send $1 to Guardian, Dept. NR, 197 East 4th Street, New York City 10009 (Full year $10, student $5.)

SWAP PAPERBACKS. Send $1.00, four books (excellent condition) for four others. Indicate categories. BOOK EXCHANGE, 27 Whitebirch, Pomona, New York 10970.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RADICAL paperbacks, hardcovers. Political, science, sociology, economics, etc. Discounts to NR readers; free catalog. HAMMOND BOOK SERVICE, Box 198NR, Upham, North Dakota 58789.

BEST BOOKFINDER IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 86-32 N. Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON, a comprehensive record of November 15-16 in over 100 excellent photographs. Send $2.50: Relevance Press, Box 336 X, Newcomb Station, Charlottesville, Va. 22901.

WRETCHED MESS NEWS: America's Last Stronghold of Fearless Yellow Journalism! $2 for next 4 editions. Wretched Mess News, Dept. A, West Yellowstone, Montana 59758.

NOW AVAILABLE! SALOME, Oscar Wilde. All 16 Aubrey Beardsley illustrations. Beautifully reproduced and bound. Satisfaction guaranteed. $3.50. Gaslight Press, P.O. Box 2052, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49501.

TOP PAPERBACK PUBLISHER LOOKING FOR CONTEMPORARY ADULT FICTION. Send 30 page partial plus outline of remaining chapters. Send material or queries to: Dept. M-12, Midwood Books, 185 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

A 7 YEAR COLLECTION OF BACK ISSUE New York Times and Washington Post book review sections available. Also New York Times magazine sections. Best offer. Contact: Harold Clayton, 1843 S Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

FOR A FRESH INSIGHT into the news, read the WEEKLY PEOPLE, the voice of Marxian-Socialism. 6 Months $1.50; year $3. Sample copy on request. Box 200, Brooklyn, New York 11202.

PUNSTERS!—"LASSIE" assaults civilized sensibilities. Anguish guaranteed. $1.00. Box 3234, Wilson, N.C. 27893.

THE MAJORITY REPORT: Social and political actions building for a majority on the Democratic Left. Submit materials. Monthly free classified advertisements to subscribers. $3.00 yearly. 1935 North Fremont, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

YOU THINK MISSISSIPPI SOULS HAVE IT BAD . . . learn about Texas 'chicanos.' Mexican-Americans, 129 Cincinnati, San Antonio, Texas 78201, $1.00.

FREE BOOK. Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 69, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, N.Y. 14619.

WANT TO FIGHT pollution, overpopulation, etc., but don't know how to begin? Send for Citizens' Action Report. Special $2 introductory price. Citizens' Action, P.O. Box 411, White Plains, New York 10602.

I CHING. Hardbound edition of The Book of Changes and old Chinese bronze coins. Ten dollars. Kamala Book Store, P.O. Box 15061, San Francisco 94115.

CONSERVATIVE newsletter-review takes direct issue with articles in liberal journals. Send for free copy: OPTIONS, Box 395, Phoenix, Maryland 21131.

GUIDE TO THE AMERICAN LEFT. Directory and Bibliography. FIFTH EDITION. 3,000 listings, $4.00. Directory, Box 1832, Kansas City, Missouri 64141.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION for students, teachers and armed forces personnel to The New Republic Magazine. $6.00 for one year (a Saving of $6.00) or $4.00 for eight months. Mail payment and this ad to The New Republic Subscription Department/381 West Center Street/Marion, Ohio 43302.

HALDEMAN—JULIUS BLUE BOOKS—20c and 50c—all subjects. Listed: 10c. Larson-NR, #106, 6364 Yucca, Hollywood 90028.

WRITERS' CONFERENCE FELLOWSHIPS, scholarships, manuscript awards. University of Colorado Writers' Conference for young nonestablished writers. June 21-July 3. Denise Levertov, Richard Hugo (Poetry); Isaac Bashevis Singer, Herbert Gold (Fiction); Mitch Goodman (Nonfiction); Arthur Weingarten (T.V.-Drama). Professor John Wrenn, University of Colorado, Woodbury 103-R, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

APPALACHIAN POETRY. Singings of the Damned, $3 copy. Box 109, Gahanna, Ohio 43230.

POETS OF THE NEW YORK SCHOOL. New important Anthology of nine poets and nine artists. Gotham Book Mart & Gallery, Inc., 41 West 47th Street, NYC 10036. $12.50, 25c postage, NYC residents 75c tax.

Authors

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, New York 11001.

WRITERS — "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Schools

THE AMERICAN FILM INSTITUTE announces two one-year research associateships in film history at the Center for Advanced Film Study, Los Angeles, from September, 1970. Recipients will undertake a comprehensive study of a major figure in American film. Grants are also available for extended oral history interviews with distinguished individuals who have made significant contributions to the American film. Write: Research Department, Center for Advanced Film Studies, 301 Doheny, Beverly Hills, California 90210.

COLLEGE DROP-OUTS: We concentrate on the educational redevelopment of selected students, including poor achievers, with unrealized learning potential. Educational Development Center, 23 Adelbert Street, Berea, Ohio 44017. Dept. NR or Educational Development Center, 165 East Tenth Street, Claremont, California 91711, Dept. NR.

YOU'LL DIG IT AT TARQUINIA. Six-week college credit program in Etruscan archeology exclusive with Trinity College/Rome Campus, A, Hartford, Connecticut 06106.

EXPERT INSTRUCTION IN YOGA. G. Stephen, 2440 16th Street, N.W. #101, Washington, D.C. 20009, 462-0546.

QUAKER STUDY CENTER—Suburban Philadelphia. Workshop in social change and nonviolence. Seminars on Quakerism, art, Buber, religious community, poetry, and crafts. Write: D. R. Fradley, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania 19086.

FOR STUDENT TRAVEL or Study or Family stays or Camping . . . small groups . . . at a leisurely pace . . . lively flexible programs . . . leaders of caliber, tast and wit . . . 12th year. Itins. in Western Europe, Greece and Yugoslavia. Students Abroad, Inc., 771-R West End Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10025. (212) 928-7878.

MEXICAN MOUNTAIN intercultural study-travel. College credit. Free brochure, MEXCULT, 1800 Argentia, Apt. A., Dallas, Texas 75224.

SOCIETY FOR EDUCATIONAL VENTURES (outgrowth of a vigorous experimental program in a straight college) seeks resources to become an independent college. We have experience, a program, 50 interested students, 8 faculty (and vitality). We need money, a site, trustees, faculty, students, and general support. Goal: a leading, innovative college of 300 students within 5 years. Help reform higher education. Write Box 48, Alfred, Maine 04002.

SANFORD. A well organized coeducational boarding and day school offering a sound background for college. Country campus. Advanced courses. Special study help. Art, drama, music, sports, riding. Accredited. Box 110, Hockessin, Delaware 19707.

DO YOU TEACH? We suggest you enliven your class by using The New Republic. On bulk orders of ten copies or more to a single address, the cost per copy is only 15c. Write to the Classroom Dept., *New Republic, 1244 19th Street, N.W.*, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Summer Schools

THE NONSCHOOL. Next summer come with us to Europe (ages 14-18). Peter Franck, George School, Newtown, Pennsylvania.

THE ARTS CENTER AT GODDARD COLLEGE in its 18th season, June 28 to August 23, 1970, is an opportunity for serious-minded people to play chamber music, work in the visual arts, theater and dance . . . a place to meet old friends and make new ones in the Vermont Hills. For information, write: Phil Homes, Director, Box R, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont 05667.

ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES AND OUTDOOR LEADERSHIP PROGRAM at Cooper Union's country campus. Individual projects, field trips, environmental photography workshop. Two-week undergraduate program for senior high school students and college students. August 15-31, 1970: $200.00—includes room and board and all expenses. Write: The Green Campus Office, Prof. Mary Blade, The Cooper Union, Cooper Square, New York, N.Y. 10003. Partial scholarships available.

ATHENIAN SCHOOL SUMMER PROGRAM. On Campus and in the field. 3 separate courses—Intensive Spanish: 3½ weeks on campus, 2½ in Mexico. Ecology: Classroom, lab and weekly field trips, 5 weeks. Drama Workshop: 4 weeks, acting, set design, production, back-stage field trips. All begin June 21. Boarding, co-ed, ages 12 thru 15. Beautiful campus at foot of Mt. Diablo. Catalog. Write: Director, Summer Program, The Athenian School, Danville, California 94526.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONTESSORI TEACHER TRAINING — Next course June 23rd-August 7th. Live, learn on beautiful campus. Fully approved. AMS Certified. Write: Midwest Montessori, NR, 1010 West Chicago, Illinois 60622.

GROVE FARM WORKSHOP in the Humanities for boys and girls, 14-18. Integrated, interdenominational. Creative thinking through literature, drama, history, music. Work projects: forestry conservation. June 28th-August 9th. B. S. deFrees, Director, North Rumford, Maine 04278.

SUMMER ON A GREEK ISLAND: AEGINA ARTS CENTRE—Study painting, music, archeology, poetry, Greek literature and language, attend music and drama festivals at Epidaurus, dancing, tavernas, the real sea and sun on unspoiled Aegina. One month sessions, July or August, $200. Charter flights. Write: John Zervos, DePaul University, 25 E. Jackson, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

LESLEY FROST, daughter of Robert Frost, is now considering applications for her seventh summer (July-August) of her school in Spain (near Segovia) for girls 15-17. Spanish and French taught; art and history emphasized. Weekends in Madrid, Toledo, Salamanca, etc. Tour of Granada, Sevilla, Cordoba. Address Miss Frost, 129 East 10th Street, New York City 10010.

FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS interested in study, travel and homestay, Mount Hermon Summer Schools offer programs in England, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Mexico, Japan, Russia and Spain. All programs are co-educational. Faculty are carefully selected, highly qualified teachers. June 24th-August 20th. $1,200 all inclusive fee. For brochure and application materials, write Department R, Mount Hermon Summer Schools, Mount Hermon, Massachusetts 01354.

Camps

THE PUTNEY SCHOOL WORK CAMP is reopening this summer and will provide a daily life that is balanced between physical, cultural and intellectual activities, and an atmosphere in which a young person can deepen his insight into himself and extend his outlook on the world. Co-ed, 13-17. Robert Williams, Director. Phone No. (802) 387-5566 or 5541. The Putney School, Elm Lea Farm, Putney, Vermont 05346.

Johnny Appleseed Camp
in the Poconos. Our 6th year as a non-profit, inter-racial children's community. 8 weeks $880; 4 weeks $465. Write: 50 Lincoln Ave., Eastchester, N. Y. 10707.

GOLDEN ARROW, Sunapee, New Hampshire. Creative experiences using wilderness setting. 4 or 8 weeks. Coed 6-13. Charpentiers, 35-54 88th Street, Queens, New York 11372.

Employment Wanted

THE COMPLEAT COADJUTOR. Former foundation executive, manager of research, specialist in libraries and information handling, editing. Russian language. Experience US State Department and Foreign Service. Widower in early 50's, excellent health, free to travel US or overseas. Seeks challenging position in related fields. New Republic Box #4505.

BIOLOGIST - NATURALIST, to teach Ecology, Evolution, Vertebrate Biology in progressive atmosphere. Box #4460, New Republic.

EXPERIENCED WRITER, publishers' editor, analyses, revises manuscrips in French and English. New Republic Box #4070.

MENTAL HEALTH people say the field needs journalists. Dedicated and available. New Republic Box #4515.

M.Sc. ABD seeks free-lance editorial assignments and library research. Experienced, competent, fast service. New Republic, Box #4440.

EX-PEACE CORPS COUPLE seek leisurely employment. Fitzpatrick, Calle Rosas—#48, San German, Puerto Rico 00753.

EDUCATIONAL MEDIA: WRITER/EDITOR/PRODUCER. Experienced writer, background in social sciences and education, media research, editorial responsibility. M.A., sociology. Available April 1 for any challenging position here or abroad. Box 4525, New Republic.

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH in large Eastern University, 32, multilingual, Harvard Ph.D. pending, seeks more challenging work in environmental defense, consumer protection, educaiton of the disadvantaged, or similar quasi-public service. Little operative experience, but extensive journalistic background. New Republic, Box #4450.

WRITING, EDITING, RESEARCH by expert published writer, Who's Who biographee. New Republic Box 4370.

EXPERIENCED GOVERNESS. College Student. Loves Children. Will Travel. May 27-Sept. 12. New Republic Box #4500.

HARVARD SENIOR desires summer job (research?). Sociology major, experienced, mobile. Jerome Karabel, Adams C-43, Harvard, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

Employment Opportunities

HEADMASTER FOR INDEPENDENT SCHOOL from three year nursery through eighth grade. Old, respected school wants sound, sensitive person to maintain experimental tradition and liberal education philosophy on beautiful 30-acre country campus. Oak Lane Day School, Blue Bell, Pennsylvania 19422 (215-825-1055).

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN SOCIAL-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. Nationwide directories of positions in all areas related to social-economic development. Accurate. Timely. Revolutionary approach to job problem. Inexpensive. Applications write: Sociocom, Box 317, Harvard Square P.O., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

"HOW TO GET OVERSEAS JOBS"—Lists hiring organizations—143 Pages. $3.98 refundable. Staydryn, Whitestone, New York 11357.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants YOU—Application forms and new 1970 Australian Handbook describing Government assisted passage, family and housing allowances, jobs, business, ranching, teaching, hunting, fishing, etc. $1.00. Buckeye, Box HY, Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

PHYSICIANS, NURSE-WIVES, Nurses, Medical Technicians, Record Librarians, and Social Workers are *Urgently* needed for the New Family Nurse Practitioner Project in Eestern Kentucky. Write: Frontier Nursing Service, Wendover, Kentucky 41773.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government Assisted Passage. 50,000 Jobs. 1970 Government Information and Forms $1.00. Special reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Housing, Education, Ranching, Farming, Teaching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach, California 90803

TEACHERS WANTED, Innovative, socially aware, grades K-8, also specialties. New York suburb, 60 minutes from N.Y.C. Salary range for 69-70 is $6,900 to $14,000+. Contact Mr. N. Karamessinis, Asst. Supt. for Instr., Box 241, Rockaway, N.J. (201-361-2900).

40,000 SUMMER JOBS — Resort Employment Directory furnishes descriptions, addresses, contacts, salaries. $2.00 postpaid ($2.25 First Class). Corion Publishers, 1635 S. Harvard, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74112.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Dept. N, Box 942, Belmont, California 94002.

JOBS! JOBS! and more JOBS! Men, women, students, teachers, Foreign, U.S.A. Year-round and summer jobs. All occupations and trades. For information, write "JOBS," Box 475 (NR2), Lodi, California 95240.

LONDON, ENGLAND—Secretaries, typists work 10 weeks or more. Applicants pay own fare. Miss Liberty, Inc., 705 Stoneleigh Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21212.

WRITE FOR TELEVISION. Will establish. "Writter," 22841 Calabash, Woodland Hills, California 91364.

Property–Sale/Rent

LIBERAL CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY near Arkansas Lake. Pre-development prices. Tumbling Shoals Estates, Post Office Drawer 268 B, Naperville, Illinois 60540.

WASHINGTON, D.C. In town, integrated, interesting: Neighbors, Inc. community convenient to everything. All types of homes on tree-lined streets. Live your convictions; know your neighbors. Work with us in schools, recreation, community services. Write: HIS, 6829 Piney Branch Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20012.

MARTHA'S VINEYARD . . . EDGARTOWN. Private ocean front home. Weekly rates. 3 bedrooms, 2½ baths, fireplace, complete furnishings. Owner's membership in Mattaksett Tennis Club included. Share use of 50' swimming pool, Uni-Turf tennis court, bicycles, sailboats and kayaks with small property group. Daily maid service available. For full information, call or write owner's exclusive agent, Joan Hutchinson, Box 0, Sudbury, Massachusetts 01776. (617) 443-9922.

MAINE COUNTRY HOME near excellent recreation and transportation for your city apartment or rental, beginning September-October, 1970, for 6 months or more. New Republic, Box #4485.

LAND circa Burlington, Lake Champlain. Skiing, hunting, etc. Dr. Dahl, Charlotte, Vermont, or (913) 649-9153.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vacations / Travel

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-21, JDW, Bell, Bayside, N. Y. 11361.

BRIDGE THE GENERATION GAP—Join hippies, radicals in one week of communal living and see Berkeley and San Francisco from a different vantage. Cost $150. For brochure write Hoffman Tours, 29 South 40th St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

WINDJAMMER VACATION — Sail from Rockland. Maine to picturesque islands and harbors in Penobscot Bay. $135 weekly. Brochure. Schooner RICHARD ROBBINS, West Bath, Maine. Phone (207) 443-3805.

HEALTHFUL FLORIDA VACATIONS—Relaxing. Reducing. Rejuvenation. Free brochure. Write: SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923-NR.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyages, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND GRADUATES. Exceptional travel plans in Western Europe — Czechoslovakia and Yugsolavia — Israel — Russia. Get off the beaten track and become involved in European life. Speak French in France or Spanish in Spain all summer. Or stay in a Soviet youth center; sail with Breton fishermen; climb glacier-covered Alps; ski in August at Mont Blanc; make bicycle trip in Denmark; hike with Czech students; work in Israeli kibbutz; live with European family. Music festivals, theaters. 19th year. Write: George N. Shumlin, Putney Student Travel, Putney, Vermont 05346.

LEARN TO CLIMB WEEKS. In the Tetons. Jackson Hole Mountain Guides. Teton Village, Wyoming 83025.

TRAVEL BARGAINS. Save $250 plus on trip abroad. Fee literature. Traveletter, Box 707HC, Corona del Mar, California 92625.

MAYA ZAPOTEC CIVILIZATIONS. Yucatan to Zihuataenjo. Summer in non-tourist Mexico with anthropologist. High School students, 6th year. Box 4486, Stockton, California 95204.

AIMS INTERNATIONAL — European summer study and travel. Ages 15-20, 23 programs of language study or Art History, Theatre, Comparative Governments, Comparative Cultures, Russian Studies, Mediterranean Cruise. England, France, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Austria, Russia, Greece, Israel. Chaperoned: Academic Credit; $985. Registrar, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

CEC TAKES YOU TO MEET RUSSIANS face to face in the USSR, if you think peace is more than a one-day parade. All ages and occupations can qualify. Non-political 2 or 3 week exchange visits open for March, April, Summer 1970. Write, phone: Citizen Exchange Corps, 10 W. 46th Street, New York, New York. LT 1-8113. Dept. NR-270.

CIEE STUDENT TRAVEL SERVICES 1970. Save on European travel with low-cost transatlantic transportation; intra-European student charter flights; the International Student Identity Card. Enroll in an introductory course at a European university. Write for information on study, travel and work programs abroad: Council on International Educational Exchange, Dept. NR-3, 777 U.N. Plaza, New York, N. Y. 10017.

Cookery

NATURAL WHOLEWHEAT BREAD — Instructions, $1.00. Ma-June, 107 Carl Street, San Francisco, California 94117.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 73, 79 Wall Street, NYC 10005.

GASTRONOMIC LITHOGRAPHS from Rare French Cookbooks. Four: $6.00, Eight: $10.00. Gourmet Graphics, 1197 Cragmont, Berkeley, California 94708.

HOMEMADE WINE—Instructions, recipes. $1.00. P.O. Box 19103, Pensacola, Florida 32501.

WINEMAKING KIT . . . $4.98. Free recipes. Catalog. JIMDANDY, Box 30230-XX, Cincinnati, Ohio 45230.

Arts and Crafts

FOR ONE DOLLAR I will send you an original drawing. Suzen, 1264 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Wash., D.C.

CANDLES—SCENTED BEESWAX. 2 lb. cylinder. Layered colors. Burn and Glow 85 hours. Dripless. Satisfaction Guaranteed. Send $3.75 each, postpaid, to Tom Gullion, Candlemaker, Box 225, Chiloquin, Oregon 97624. Specify Basic Color Desired.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced. Illustrative catalogue, 50c. George Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

CARTOONS WANTED: Original drawings of Masses, New Masses, Liberator artists. Will purchase single drawings or complete collections. Send details to: Box #182, Durham, Pennsylvania 18039.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25c. Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau. Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from $15. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

AT LAST! BUY AND SELL ART AND ANTIQUES DIRECTLY — THOUSANDS OF PRICED LISTINGS.
"Your ad printed free—
We collect our fee
When the sale is made
and you are paid!"
10% commission!—Maximum $100. Annual subscription, $10. Write: THE ART TRADER, Inc., Box 43, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

CABUYA BAGS—Woven natural-fiber handbags—leather-trimmed—for beach, campus, casual wear. (C. D. Project) Write: Andean, Box 472-R, Cuenca, Ecuador.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

TIRED OF WORKING FOR THE MAN! Send for our exclusive "Directory of African Exporters," listing over 200 reliable dealers of African Culture items; custom regulations and how to import also included. To receive your copy, please send only $10.00 cash, check or money order to: J & D Marketing Research, P.O. Box 8626, Washington, D.C. 20011.

Music

MOUNTAIN DULCIMERS, eight designs. Free Catalog. Dennis Dorogi, Brocton, New York 14716.

COMPOSER-IN-RESIDENCE AT THE CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART, Washington, D.C., needs the use of two professional tape recorders (Ampex or Sculley; 4-channel, 7½ & 15 IPS) and related equipment for the making of free improvisational compositions. Contact: H. Clayton, 1843 S St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance, Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York, New York 10023.

FREE CATALOG—Personalities, Jazz, Broadcasts of Thirties. ARB-341 Cooper Station, NYC 10030.

MAGNIFICENT HANDMADE WALNUT MUSIC STAND. Fully adjustable. $280.00. Send $.50 for glossy photographs and literature. Customcraft Workshop 3902 Surry Road, Toledo, Ohio 43615.

MUSICAL DELIGHT for a lifetime: a Sabathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

FREE CIRCULAR—Country Western Records and Tape Cartridges: Fiddle Tunes, Waltzes, Blue Grass. Uncle Jim O'Neal, Box A-NR, Arcadia, California 91006.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

FALL IN LOVE with a Neupert Harpsichord. Magnamusic Distributors, Inc., Sharon, Connecticut 06069.

DULCIMER PSALTERIES and other easily made and played instruments. Kits $15.55 up, instruments $38.50 up. Instruction record and book. HERE, Inc., N. Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 60c
Per word 6 times in one contract year 55c
Per word 12 times in one contract year ... 50c
Per word 24 times in one contract year ... 45c
Per word 48 times in one contract year ... 40c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE

MARBORO'S VERITABLE ORGY OF POSTERS

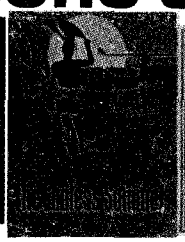
Pins Tacks Tape: Need No Frames

Colorful! Dramatic! Decorative! Very Inexpensive!

$1 and up

Send your order to Marboro today.

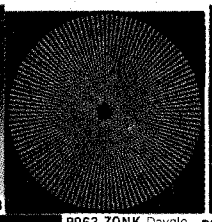
P797 BAN THE BOMB
Dayglo 28" Sq. *Only* **1.49**



P667 ENDLESS SUMMER
Dayglo 29x40 *Special* **1.98**

P883 I WANT YOU
29x39 *Only* **1.98**

P177 ? 23x29 *Only* **1.98**



P963 ZONK Dayglo
39" Sq. *Only* **2.49**

P310 YOUR TAX DOLLARS
Dayglo 21x32 *Only* **1.98**

P775 KISS A TOAD
25" Sq. *Special* **1.49**

P191 THE PILL
11x17 *Only* **1.00**

P311 PEACE NOW
November March
20x34 *Only* **1.00**

P148 Hug: TIGER
Canvas, 28x22
Only **5.95**

P318 WAR IS NOT HEALTHY 22x34
Only **1.98**

P129 SYNCOPATED RHYTHM
29x23 Dayglo *Only* **1.98**

P190 Have YOU Had Your Pill
23x29 *Only* **1.98**

P369 PROTEST 40x30 *Special* **2.98**

P737 Picasso: DON QUIXOTE Canvas
20x24 *Special* **2.98**

P114 SPHERES
19x31 *Only* **1.98**

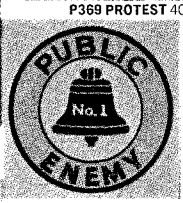
P236 THE EXPERIENCED
21x30 *Only* **1.98**

P788 SUPPOSE THEY GAVE A WAR Dayglo
25x38 *Special* **4.95**

P276 WAR IS GOOD BUSINESS 23x29 *Only* **4.95**

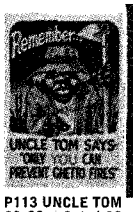
P340 COME TOGETHER
42x35 *Only* **2.98**

P173 COMPLEAT ZODIAC 20x29
Only **1.49**



P368 PUBLIC ENEMY #1
23" Sq. *Only* **1.98**

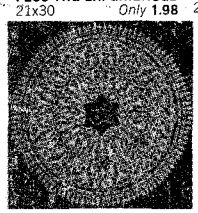
P280 WOODSTOCK—We Are One 23x35 *Only* **1.00**



P113 UNCLE TOM
22x33 *Only* **1.98**

P339 PEACE
23x29 *Only* **1.98**

P187 GRETA 42x29 *Only* **1.98**



P119 OM MANDALA
21" Sq. *Only* **1.98**

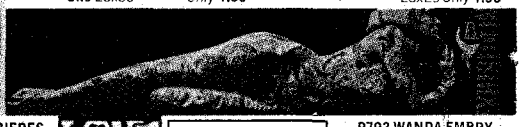
P240 U & I Dayglo
23x29 *Only* **1.98**

P292 FLAMING LOVE
Dayglo 21x26 *Only* **1.98**

P362 VISION 24x36 *Only* **1.98**

P794 LEVY'S 30x45 *Only* **2.98**

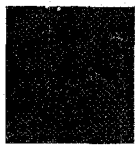
P716 Mucha: BIERES de la MEUSE
34x53 *Special* **2.98**



P352 KAREN 29x23 *Only* **1.49**

P348 Picasso: GUERNICA 46x21 *Only* **2.98**

P244 BUTTERFLY
Dayglo 29x23 *Only* **1.98**



P349 BOINNG!
29" Sq. *Only* **1.98**

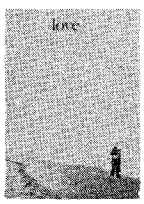
P320 LOVE-PEACE
Dayglo 21x32
Only **1.98**

FREE!
with every order
Plasti-Tak
New versatile adhesive for putting posters up without marring surface. (Enough for three posters.)

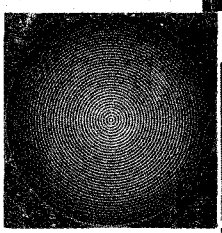
P793 WANDA EMBRY
12x63 *Only* **4.95**

P338 THE RED BARON
31x23 *Only* **1.98**

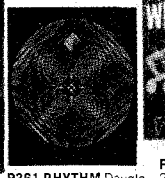
P285 WHO NEEDS YOU
23x29 *Only* **1.98**



P871 Gillette: LOVE
17x21 *Only* **1.98**



P677 TARGET
Dayglo 40" Sq. *Special* **1.98**



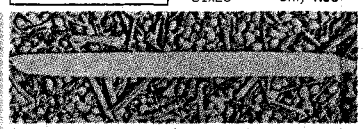
P876 MARIE
29x52 *Only* **1.98**

P361 RHYTHM Dayglo
22x26 *Only* **1.98**

P365 WEEDIES
23x35 *Only* **1.98**

P571 Lautrec: MOULIN ROUGE
20x28 *Special* **1.00**

P223 Picasso: LES PETITS FLEURS Silkscreen on canvas 20x26 *Only* **5.95**



P336 JOINT Full week's high 56x19 *Only* **1.98**

P127 MARIE THREE 42x29 *Only* **1.98**

P391 LAST SUPPER (with hero sandwich)
26x21 *Special* **1.98**

P360 ENERGY
22x27 *Only* **1.98**

P344 PEACE DOVE
18x25 *Only* **1.00**

P337 WHAT IF THEY GAVE A WAR? 23x35
Only **1.98**

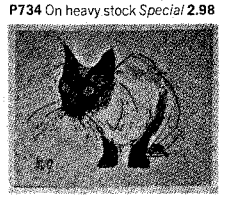
P962 MORE MARIE
29x42 *Only* **1.98**

P394 NAPOLEON & JOSEPHINE
21x26 *Only* **1.98**

P118 DRAGON
Dayglo 21x29 *Only* **1.98**

P393 ASTRONAUTS
21x26 *Only* **1.98**

P392 WHISTLER'S MOTHER
21x26 *Special* **1.98**



P733 Picasso: BLUE NUDE Silkscreen on Canvas 16x20 *Special* **5.95**
P734 On heavy stock *Special* **2.98**

P830 Hug: THE CAT
On Canvas 29x22 *Special* **5.95**

MAIL COUPON TODAY!

marboro Dept. NR-11
131 Varick St., New York, N. Y. 10013

Please send me the items circled below. (Please add 50¢ postage and handling on all orders.)
MINIMUM MAIL ORDER $5.00

☐ Send C. O. D. ☐ Enclosed find $_____

Charge my (check one) _Amer. Exp. _Diners Club _Carte Blanche _Uni-Card _Master Charge

& write in your account # _____

P113	P190	P310	P348	P392	P775
P114	P191	P311	P349	P393	P788
P118	P223	P318	P352	P394	P793
P119	P236	P320	P360	P571	P794
P127	P240	P336	P361	P667	P797

FREE! Plasti-Tak with every order.

P129	P244	P337	P362	P677	P830
P148	P276	P338	P365	P716	P871
P173	P280	P339	P368	P733	P876
P177	P285	P340	P369	P734	P883
P187	P292	P344	P391	P737	P962
					P963

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

New York City residents add 6% city sales tax. Other New York State residents add applicable sales tax. A few cents extra for C.O.D. GUARANTEE: If not satisfied, return order after 10-day examination and money will be cheerfully refunded.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED